THE MAKING OF
THE NATIONS

GERMANY

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QUEEN LOUISE (1776-1810), WIDOW OF FREDERICK WILLIAM III. OF PRUSSIA.

Her patriotism and self-sacrifice after the disaster of Jena have given her a high place in the affections of the German nation.

From the portrait by Joseph Grassi in the Hohenzollern Museum.

THE MAKING OF THE NATIONS

GERMANY

BY

A. W. HOLLAND

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD
AUTHOR OF "GERMANY TO THE PRESENT DAY"

WITH THIRTY-TWO FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC., AND MAPS AND PLANS IN THE TEXT

ADAM & CHARLES BLACK
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PREFACE

The aim of this volume is to trace, through its many vicissitudes, the development of the German nation. At the present day, especially when so much is heard about Germany and the Germans, it is surely necessary that the large reading public should be familiar with the outlines of German history, and should have a clear idea of how the Empire of William II. came into being. The present book is intended to meet this need. Authorities are not quoted, but every care has been taken to insure accuracy and to take into account the results of recent scholarship.

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PRINTED SEPARATELY FROM THE TEXT

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GERMANY

CHAPTER I

EARLY INHABITANTS

THE story of the making of the German nation is one of the most fascinating in history, but it is also one of the most complicated. There are several reasons for this, the chief, perhaps, being the lengthy and involved connection between Germany and the Holy Roman Empire. But whatever they were, the fact remains that the work of making Germany into a nation was a long and tedious task. England and France were nations in every sense before the close of the Middle Ages; in the succeeding years they were destined to enlarge their borders, to absorb kingdom or duchy, but the nation, the mark of which is a certain feeling of unity among the people, with a recognized head and centre of attraction—the sovereign—was in existence all the time. With Germany it was quite otherwise. In the Middle Ages, and after, this land had upon its soil not one nation, but many. The Bavarian had little in common with the Prussian, or the Austrian with the Saxon. True, all were constituents of the Holy Roman Empire, but we may add to Voltaire's sarcastic epigram, and assert that this was not a nation any more than it was Holy, or Roman, or an Empire.

Traces of palæolithic man have been found in Germany, and discoveries have revealed some of his tools and weapons, made of bone as well as of stone. Then, after

the glacial epoch, perhaps about 4000 B.C., the land was inhabited by neolithic man. He lived amid forests of fir in a climate which was very much as it is to-day. About the end of the neolithic period—2000 B.C. or thereabouts—there are evidences of a considerable civilization. The arts of spinning and pottery were practised, and this means that clothing, other than skins, was worn, and that earthenware vessels were used when eating and drinking. A settled home, although probably only a trench dug in the hillside, was surrounded by an area of cultivated land, and enriched by herds of domestic animals —cattle, sheep, and goats—which provided their masters with meat and milk. There was a certain amount of commerce, one article being bartered for another; hunting was carried on; religious rites were practised; and the dead were buried with great and elaborate care.

The succeeding epoch, which lasted for about 2,000 years, or until almost the beginning of the Christian era, saw other advances, trivial indeed to those who have witnessed the marvels of a single century—the nineteenth —but yet of tremendous importance in the onward progress of mankind. Copper, bronze, and then iron came into use. The women began to wear ornaments and the men to bear swords; the pottery was much more artistic, and the growth of trade led to the introduction of coins. Stern necessity taught the value of defensive works, and there is evidence that rude fortresses were erected, while about the same time the people learned to build better homes, and to increase the variety, and improve the quality of their arms.

With the incursion of the Romans into Central Europe, ethnography, taking the place of archæology, becomes our guide. In the centuries immediately before the opening of the Christian era the inhabitants of Germany appear to have been mainly of Celtic race, but in the north-west

portion of the country a different people had settled, a people belonging to the race we now call Teutonic. Both Celts and Teutons belonged to the great Indo-Germanic or Aryan race, and had come originally from Asia; but at the time of which we speak there was a certain difference between them. This had been noticed about 330 B.C. by a traveller, Pytheas of Massilia; and then, nearly three hundred years later, Julius Cæsar, who in 59 B.C. was appointed governor of Gaul, was seriously impressed by the same fact. He called the non-Celtic tribes—or, to be more correct, four of them—*Germani*, being the first writer to use this name,* and they, spreading later over some part of the land, gave to the whole of it the name of Germany.

These early Germans and tribes of the same race were settled in the land between the Oder and the Elbe, along the coasts and on the islands of the North Sea, and on the southern shores of Scandinavia. To these regions they had penetrated from their first European home, which was probably in the land around the mouth of the Dniester. After a time they separated themselves into two main groups, an eastern and a western, the former of which make hardly any further appearance in history. The western group in its turn was split up into three divisions, called Herminones, Ingväones, and Istväones, and gradually the tribes of all these pressed into Central and Southern Germany, driving the Celts before them, very much as their kinsfolk in Britain were to do five centuries later; and thus it came about that when the Romans penetrated into Germany they found hardy Teutonic tribes ready to check their advance.

* The name, which perhaps means neighbour, appears to be of Celtic origin, and may have been originally applied to some Celtic tribes. Indeed, some authorities think that the tribes which Cæsar called *Germani* were Celts, but it is extremely difficult to come to any certain decision. See Zeuss, ***Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme.***

About a century and a half after Julius Cæsar had written about the people who he named *Germani*, a much greater writer, Tacitus, gives us, in his *Germania*, a vivid and succinct account of their manners and customs; incidentally he expresses the opinion that they are a homogeneous race, having carefully refrained from mingling their blood with that of neighbouring peoples. The sketch drawn by Tacitus is fairly familiar, although some of the details are obscure and have led to much controversy. To avoid any risk of giving an imperfect summary of his statements, we will quote Dr. Stubbs, who compares Cæsar's account, evidently based on a slight and partial knowledge of the Germans, with that of the later Roman historian, who had the advantage of much fuller information. Stubbs says* that Germany was inhabited by a great number of tribes "speaking the same language, worshipping the same gods; marked by common physical characteristics and by common institutions, but having no collective name in their own tongue and no collective organization." He proceeds: "They had, as in Cæsar's time, their own breeds of cattle, and their only wealth was the possession of herds. Money and merchandise were of little account with them. They had no cities, nor even streets in their villages; their buildings were rudely put together from rough undressed materials. Their chastity and regard for marriage, the plainness and simplicity of their dress, their general temperance and sobriety, are still strongly marked. In most of these points there is no difference between the accounts of the two great historians; but in the time of Tacitus the love of hunting has declined, and the warriors spend the seasons of peace in lazy enjoyment; they have begun to use wine, and that not in moderation, and they have become inveterate and business-like gamblers. Agricul-

* *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i., pp. 17 *seq.*

ture of a simple description, and for the growth of wheat only, would seem to have increased; and the freemen and the slaves alike have settled homes."

Beyond this we need only say that the organization of the different tribes was complete both for peace and war, although they appear to have had very little capacity for acting together against a common foe. The freemen had absolute power over their wives, children, and dependents; every household had its slaves, who were often prisoners of war. The freemen met together at stated times for deliberation, and marched together against the foe. Certain families appear to have enjoyed a special nobility and consequent special privileges, and some tribes had kings, but valour and experience in the craft of war were the necessary passports to leadership. The system of justice was elaborate and apparently effective. For serious crimes, such as treason and desertion, the offender was sentenced to death in the assembly; for offences against persons or property the injured were permitted to take a suitable revenge. The rites of the heathen religion were observed with much ceremonial, and the power of the priest was considerable, not only in time of peace, but even more in time of war.

But we are anticipating. Tacitus wrote his *Germania* in A.D. 98 or 99, and we know a little about the movements of the Germans during the previous three hundred years, the years in which they were settling in the lands where the Roman historian found them. In the second century before Christ the tribes between the Elbe and the Oder saw that the way to the south was open, and were soon on the march. Two of them, the Cimbri and the Teutoni, after years of wandering, found themselves in the valley of the Lower Danube, and here for the first time they came into serious collision with the Romans. This was in 113 B.C., and in a series of encounters which

took place during the next decade the barbarians were usually victorious. A little later they passed into Italy, where, in two battles, the Roman general, Gaius Marius, defeated and dispersed them, thus relieving Rome from the danger of their advance.

While these events were taking place, other German tribes were passing into Central Europe, making their way along the valley of the Rhine. Most of them appear to have settled on the east side of the river, but one or two crossed it and made their home in the land now called Alsace. All around them were Gallic tribes; they were probably the only Germans on the west side of the Rhine, which, with this exception, formed a definite boundary between Gaul and German, the former subject in some degree to Rome, the latter entirely independent. When, in 59 B.C., Julius Cæsar became governor of Gaul, the leader of the tribes in Alsace, King Ariovistus—a name familiar to every schoolboy—had just defeated one Gallic tribe, the Aedui, who were allies of Rome, and had seized much of the territory of another. In these and other ways he was endangering the power and prestige of Rome in Gaul, and Cæsar's attention was directed to him. When all was ready the Romans marched against Ariovistus, and completely defeated his forces. Some of those who survived were driven across the Rhine, while the others were made tributaries of Rome. Cæsar continued this work. Three years later, in 55 B.C., he practically annihilated two German tribes, the Usipetes and the Tencteri, who had crossed the Rhine much nearer its mouth, and had settled in Gaul.

When Cæsar left Gaul, he had cleared it of independent German tribes, and had made the Rhine, more truly than before, the boundary between them and the tributary Gauls. Twice he had led his army across the Rhine, but not for purposes of conquest. He had made these tem-

porary visits to impress the barbarians with the power of Rome. Another of Cæsar's actions deserves mention. He had strengthened his armies by taking valorous German youths into the service of Rome, a course of action which did as much to spread the influence of that Empire as the utmost successes of her arms.

The Germany of this time is the land inhabited by the Germans—this and nothing else. Consequently its area increased as they occupied new districts, and decreased as they were driven back. But after a time the country began to have more definite boundaries, and two of these were supplied in unmistakable fashion by Nature. These were the great rivers Rhine and Danube; and the struggle between the Germans and the Romans, which was carried on with intervals of peace from before the time of Julius Cæsar until the fall of the Western Empire, was along this boundary, and was for the possession of the river lands. With equal definiteness, except in one place, the North Sea and the Baltic formed the boundary of Germany on the north, but in the east it was in dispute for nearly two thousand years.

For some years after Cæsar's departure the Romans left the Germans alone, and consequently the latter are almost without recorded history. They seem to have covered more completely the land between the Rhine and the Elbe, to have made some slight advances in the arts of peace, and to have learned a little of the culture of Rome from their kinsmen returned from fighting in her quarrels. But we may be sure that during those years the predatory instincts of the barbarians were not in a comatose condition. From time to time one tribe or another made raids across the Rhine, and the frontiers of the Roman Empire seemed to become less and less secure, as, indeed, might be expected during the time of her savage civil wars. When, about 30 B.C., Augustus Cæsar

became lord of Rome, the defence of her distant borders claimed his attention, and he realized that attack was the surest defence. Consequently he sent Drusus into Gaul, not only to drive back the invading bands of Germans, but to lead his army into the territories which they occupied. In 12 B.C. Drusus forced the tribes living in the district which is now the Netherlands to accept the authority of his master; on one of his campaigns he reached as far as the Elbe, and by a chain of fortifications along the Rhine he opposed a barrier to further inroads. The work of Drusus was continued by Tiberius, the future Emperor. Twice before the opening of the Christian era he led a Roman army into Germany, and received the submission of some of the tribes, but his most successful campaigns were those of A.D. 4 and 5. Supported by a fleet, he strengthened the hold of the Romans upon Germany by compelling the powerful tribes of the Cherusci and the Chauci to bow before him, and by leaving a garrison in the land between the Rhine and the Elbe.

While Tiberius and his legions were thus engaged, a certain Marbod, or Marobad, a king of the Marcomanni —*i.e.*, the markmen, or men living on the borders—was founding a strong association of tribes, and this was dominating Bohemia and the eastern parts of Germany. This kingdom, or confederation, could not be a matter of indifference to the Romans, and Tiberius made elaborate plans for a sudden and overwhelming attack upon it. Everything was ready, when a sudden rising in Pannonia demanded his immediate and serious attention. For three years he was thus occupied, while Marbod was left in peace, and the tribes of Central and Western Germany were freed from campaigning generals. Then, before Tiberius had time or inclination to return to the Rhine, there came that great and memorable disaster to the

Roman arms which is for ever associated with the name of Arminius.

Arminius was a prince of the Cherusci, one of the tribes which had submitted to Tiberius, and, like Marbod, he had learned something of war as an officer in the Roman service. Returning thence to his own people, he found them discontented under the rule of the new Roman governor, Quintilius Varus. Other tribes in the same region, that now known as Westphalia, among them the Chatti and the Bructeri, joined in the movement of revolt, and soon Arminius was at the head of a powerful army. Then, in September, A.D. 9, he suddenly attacked the three legions under Varus, who, ignoring some warnings he had received, was leading his troops laden with baggage through the difficult and roadless ways of the Teutoburger Wald. The German victory was complete. The three legions were destroyed, and their general committed suicide.

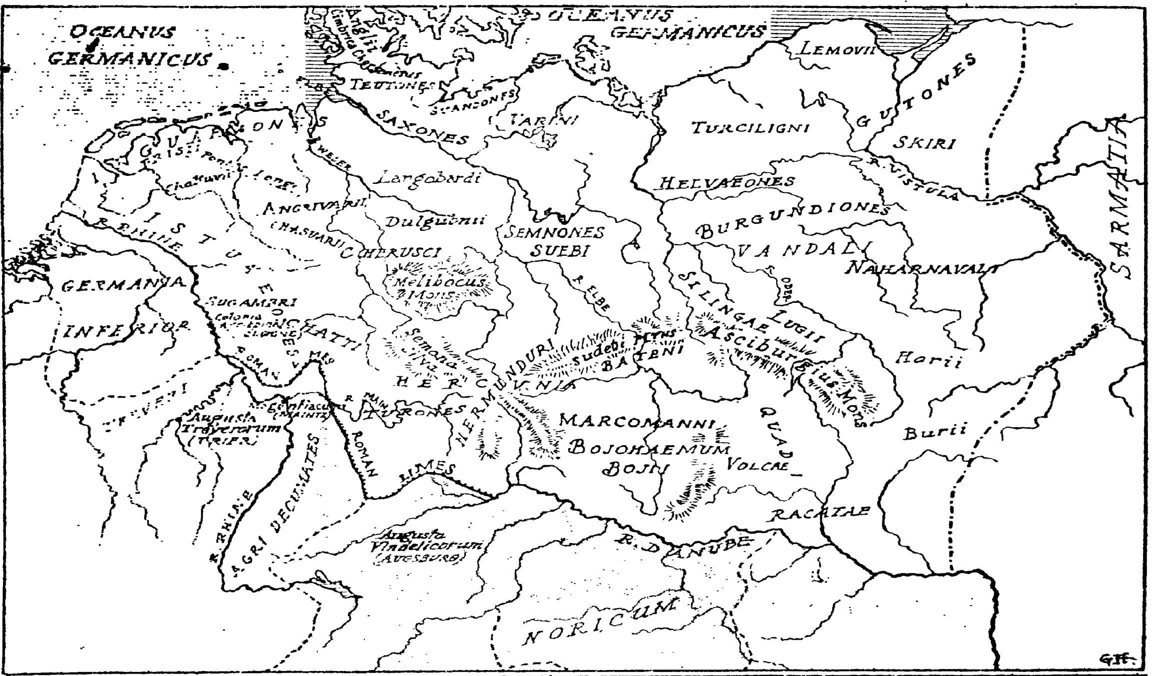
The deed of Arminius made him a national hero to the later Germans, who saw in his victory the first awakening of a national spirit and the overthrow of a foreign invader. It shows that the Germans were able to answer in a practical fashion the charge soon to be brought against them by Tacitus; they could, although as yet only for a short time, act together whenever a leader, an Arminius or a Marbod, could be found.* For a few years, the closing years of the Emperor Augustus, little was done to restore the lost prestige of Rome among the Germans of Westphalia, although two expeditions were led by Tiberius against them. When, in A.D. 14, Tiberius became Emperor, he sent Germanicus, who had been with him on one of his campaigns, to represent Rome in North-

* A fine monument to the memory of Arminius was finished in 1875. It stands on the Grotenburg Mountain, near Detmold, somewhere near the scene of the battle, which, however, cannot be located with absolute certainty.

Western Germany, and to avenge the destruction of Varus and his legions. For three years Germanicus carried on a warfare with the tribes living between the Rhine and the Elbe; in this he was greatly helped by his fleet, which sailed along the shores of the North Sea, ventured into the mouths of the Ems and the Weser, and made use of the canal constructed by Drusus between the Rhine and Lake Flevo. He burned the capital of the Chatti, recovered one of the eagles taken in the great fight of A.D. 9, and in A.D. 16 gained a decisive victory over Arminius and other leaders.

The net result of the campaigns of Tiberius and Germanicus was that the Rhine and the Danube were firmly held as the boundaries of the Roman Empire, but that beyond these its authority was disregarded. In other words, the German tribes lived in their own way without any interference from without, but at the same time they had learned to respect the Roman power, and in general they refrained from raiding expeditions across the Rhine and the Danube, both of which rivers were defended by a chain of garrisons. Some of these grew later into important towns, and from this time we can date the foundation of several German cities, some of which were on the site of Celtic settlements. Those thus founded included Mainz, Cologne, Trier, Worms, and Strassburg, as well as Augsburg and Regensburg in the valley of the Danube.

Events in Germany itself at this time did more, however, to free the Roman frontiers from the danger of marauding tribes than the campaigns of Tiberius and Germanicus. About A.D. 17 Arminius and Marbod came to blows. The former was victorious, and both Marbod and his successor Catualda were compelled to fly into Roman territory and to seek the protection of the Emperor. The kingdom of the Marcomanni under Vannius became a



GERMANIA MAGNA (*Circa* A.D. 50–120.)

Pased on Professor G. Droysen, 1886, and Ptolemy.

vassal state of Rome, and Arminius, seeking to make himself king of a big association of tribes, was murdered in A.D. 21. Seven years later the Frisians broke into revolt, one caused by oppressive taxation and attendant evils. They inflicted severe losses on the Roman garrisons, but, in spite of this, the Emperor Tiberius made no serious attempt to bring them again under his yoke.

For nearly twenty years little is heard of the German tribes, and then, during the reign of Claudius, they became prominent again, because they again attracted the notice of the Romans. The Cherusci had a serious feud over the choice of a chief, which reduced the tribe to impotence and made its dependent peoples free; and the Quadi, whose dwellings were around the source of the Elbe, and whose king, Vannius, had succeeded to the position once occupied by Marbod, were, like the Cherusci, made powerless by intestine strife. At the same time, or perhaps a little later, the inactivity of the Romans encouraged other German peoples—prominent among them the Chauci—to move into the fertile valley of the Rhine, where there were several collisions between them and the Romans. Among all the tribes there were at this time signs of restlessness; the period of the migrations (the *Völkerwanderung*) was approaching, and this is proved by the frequent fightings now recorded—fightings which were undoubtedly caused by the intrusion of one people upon the lands occupied by another. In A.D. 56, for instance, the Chatti, living in the modern Hanover, were almost destroyed by the Hermunduri, who had migrated from Bavaria to that district; and there were other occurrences of a similar nature.

CHAPTER II

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE GERMANS

THE tribes of which we have been speaking, the Chatti, Chauci, Cherusci, Quadi, Hermunduri, and others, although powerful in their day and generation, have left no traces of their existence upon the lands which they once inhabited. Moreover, their names are not familiar to us; they have no associations with our ordinary life, and except in historical records, they are quite forgotten. In the period upon which we are now entering the case is quite different. The tribes coming under our notice will, for the most part, bear known and familiar names. In the language of logic these names connote something to us; the others do not. We shall hear now of the Saxons, the Franks, the Bavarians, the Angli, the Alamanni, and the Langobardi, or Lombards. These words have lived, and in their modern form, as Saxony, France, England, or Allemagne, they make us familiar with the peoples who first bore them.

The change in the names and settlements of the German tribes was a result of the great migration of European peoples called the *Völkerwanderung*. The dates of the beginning and the end of this movement have been differently given by various authorities, and it is almost impossible to fix them definitely. We may say, however, that there were signs of the movement before A.D. 200, and that it lasted until A.D. 700 or thereabouts. During its progress the earlier tribes vanished completely,

and their place was taken by others, many of whom settled themselves so firmly upon the soil that to-day the part of Europe which each inhabited is called by its name.

From about A.D. 50, or from about the time referred to by Tacitus in his *Germania*, we have for many years very little information about the Germans. One important event, however, is known to us. This was the great revolt against Rome of the tribes living around the lower course of the Rhine, in the district now known as the Netherlands. It took place in A.D. 69 and 70, and its leader was Claudius Civilis, who, like other successful German generals, had served in the Roman army. He belonged to the tribe of the Batavi, but the rising was not confined to them; it was supported by nearly all the tribes in the district, among them the Frisians and the Chauci. The Romans took energetic means to crush the rebels, but although they inflicted serious losses upon them, they did not succeed in reducing them to absolute submission. The result was that in A.D. 70 terms of peace, honourable to both sides, were arranged, by which the relations between Rome and these subject peoples remained as before the war.

At this time the Roman Empire was getting old, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that it was middle-aged. It had lost the desire for more territory, the youthful lust of conquest was gone; but it had a stern determination to keep what it possessed, and was far from that senile stage when its lands would be tamely surrendered. Now the main idea of the Emperors was to make the Empire safe, to be free from barbarian incursions and alarms, and they were content to accept in general the line of the Rhine and the Danube as the boundary between Rome and the Germans. Where these rivers ran broad and deep they afforded, with the

forts placed at intervals along their banks, ample security against the German inroads, but it was quite otherwise in that fertile district in the south-west, where both were small and shallow streams, just starting upon long journey to the seas. Here, easily crossed, the protection they afforded was a negligible quantity. The plan formed by the Romans was to occupy this district, which lay in the angle formed by the two rivers, and corresponded roughly to the modern countries of Baden and Württemberg, and to defend it by an artificial boundary, a wall or rampart, as was done in Britain.

As early as the time of Drusus something of the kind had been attempted, and then, about A.D. 74, Vespasian, and a little later Domitian, took up the work in earnest. To defend the Danube, the line of fortifications—the *limes* as the Romans called it—started near Regensburg, and keeping well to the north of the river, was carried to the neighbourhood of Stuttgart. It was a road about 12 feet broad and 5 feet high, protected by a mound and a ditch, and at intervals by watch-towers. The wall defending the Rhine frontier was in two sections. One ran from near Stuttgart northwards until it reached the river Main. For some distance westwards this river formed the boundary, and then began the second section of the wall which ran east of the Rhine from somewhere near Mainz to a point north of Coblentz. The whole work, which took a long time, was probably finished by the Emperor Hadrian, and it marked the limit of the Roman advance into Germany.

For a hundred years there was peace between the Romans and the Germans, and periods of peace rarely find their historian. Consequently, we can only assume that in the second century the tribes of Germany were living very much as Tacitus had described them, getting, perhaps, more restless with the increase in their numbers,

and with the growing pressure from the east. Then, upon the declining Roman Empire, came the first blasts of the storm that was to destroy it. The Goths and the Burgundians pressing to the west disturbed a group of tribes dwelling in Southern Germany, and these in their turn invaded the Roman province of Noricum. They included the Marcomanni and the Quadi, and the war between them and the Romans, which began in A.D. 166, lasted, with short intervals of peace, until A.D. 180. At one stage the Emperor Marcus Aurelius gave up part of his lands on the Danube, and received from the German tribes military service in return. This, however, did not lead to a lasting peace, which only came when Commodus, the new Emperor, made further cessions of territory, and allowed a crowd of Germans to settle on Roman soil.

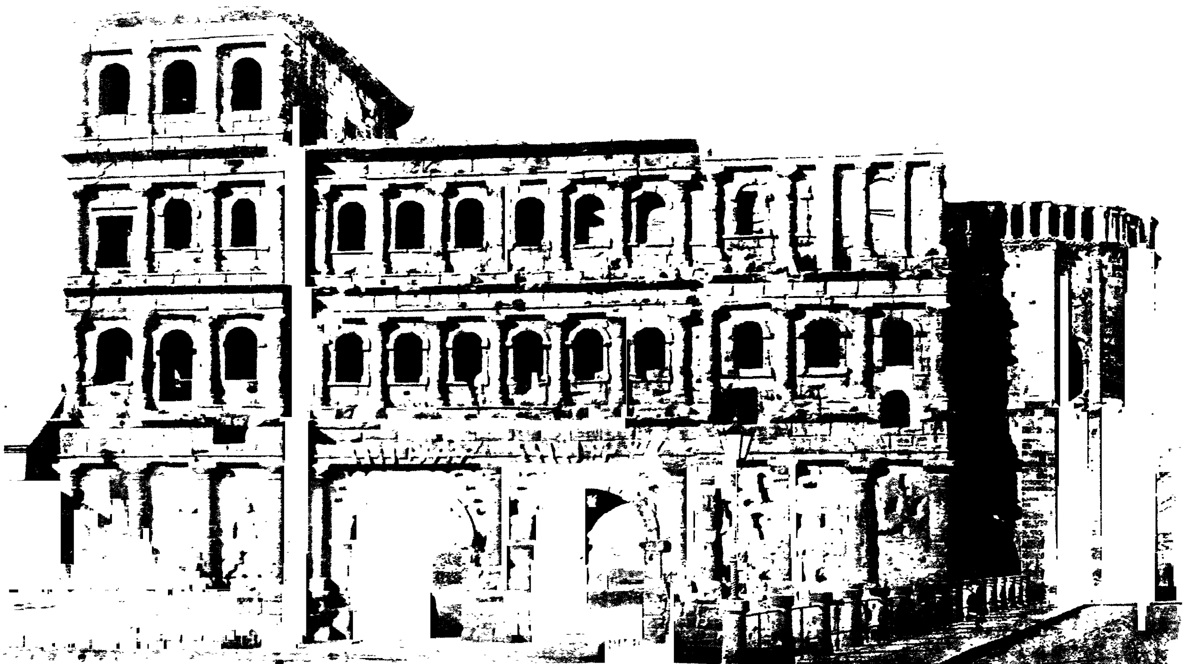
For the next forty or fifty years there is another silence, and it is during this time, as far as we can tell, that considerable changes took place in the settlements and names of the Germans. We hear now for the first time of new tribes, which are perhaps combinations of old ones, to which new names have been given. About A.D. 210 the Alamanni first appear, a little later the Franks, and still later the Saxons and the Thuringians.

The serious struggle for the fertile lands protected by the Roman walls began in A.D. 213, when the Alamanni marched into Roman territory around the Upper Danube. This inaugurated a long struggle, in which the Germans, helped by Rome's internal troubles, made permanent settlements on ground still regarded as her own. Alexander Severus purchased peace, but the work of conquest went on, and long before the third century was out the virile Germans had driven the Romans from the land on the east side of the Rhine, which they had held and protected for nearly two hundred years. This district was

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THE ROMAN GATEWAY AT TRIER (TRÈVES).

One of the most impressive survivals of Roman architecture outside Italy

called for some centuries Alamannia from the name of the people who at this time seized it.

For about two centuries—the third and the fourth A.D. —the history of Western Germany is almost wholly that of the struggle for the Rhineland between the Franks and the Alamanni on the one side, and the decaying might of Rome on the other. While the Alamanni were seizing and naming the land within the *limes*, the Franks were advancing in the north-west. The Roman generals fought vigorously, but they could not stem the tide. The enemy was, perforce, allowed to settle within the Empire, and before the end of the third century he had secured a firm foothold therein; in fact, we are told that "the policy of settling barbarians on Roman ground was the most important feature of Probus's reign" (A.D. 276-282).* For about fifty years both the Franks and the Alamanni remained more or less content with the ground they had won, and then almost simultaneously they renewed their advance. Just before his death in A.D. 340, the Emperor Constantine II. had taken the fatal step of inviting the Alamanni into Gaul to assist him in a domestic war. They entered, but soon forgot the part of ally and adopted that of foe. They are said to have destroyed forty-five towns; and at great distances from where they were, the terror of their name was so potent that for a time the Gauls would not drive their cattle into the open, but kept them within their walls.

Until the reign of Julian internal difficulties prevented the Romans from taking defensive measures of any magnitude against the invaders, but by this Emperor something was done. He attacked both the Franks and the Alamanni. Four times between A.D. 357 and A.D. 360 he crossed the Rhine, and near Strassburg he

* J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire.*

inflicted a severe defeat upon the kings of the Alamanni. He took Cologne from the Franks, drove back their neighbours the Chamavi, and came into collision with the Saxons. But even Julian did not think of conquering the lands across the Rhine. He was quite content to hold firmly the line of that river, and he did this so well that, during the rest of his reign, which ended in A.D. 363, and for some time afterwards, the Germans refrained from any serious attacks upon it.

The recurring restlessness in Western Germany was caused, to some extent at least, by events in the eastern part of the land. Into this region new and powerful groups of tribes were pressing, and were forcing those already there more to the west, while these in their turn were impelling others on to the frontiers of the Roman Empire. Foremost among those invading groups were the Goths, who attacked the Roman settlements on the Upper Danube, and in A.D. 252 killed the Emperor Decius in battle. With equal indifference they threw themselves against all, whether Romans or Germans, who stood in the way of their progress. Sometimes, as in A.D. 269, they met with serious reverses, and once the Emperor Aurelian drove them completely across the Danube; but their numbers were so great and their onward march so irresistible, that one Emperor, Gallus, consented to pay tribute to them, and another, Probus, sought, by inviting some of them to settle within his empire, to make them allies and protectors of Rome—a barrier against German invaders. Nearly a century later, or about A.D. 334, the Goths, being at peace with Rome and entrusted with the task of defending her frontiers, directed their energy against the inhabitants of Central Germany, among them the Sarmatians and the Vandals, who were driven from their settlements. About forty years afterwards there was a serious conflict

between the Quadi, another German tribe, and the Roman Emperors, Constantius and Valentinian. In this the Goths assisted the latter.

About this time the Goths were united under a great king, Hermanaric, whose authority seems to have stretched right across Europe from the Black Sea to the Baltic. He was therefore lord over a great part of Germany, but when he died, in A.D. 376, the dominion of his people came to an end. A new people, the Huns, had just burst into Europe from Asia. Advancing in savage and overwhelming strength, they soon took the place of the Goths in Eastern Germany. Their arrival caused further changes of settlement among the German peoples, but the history of the time is very obscure. The Huns were undoubtedly the dominant people in Germany at the beginning of the fifth century, and their power was at its height under Attila, who became king about A.D. 433. Crossing Central Europe, they defeated the Burgundians, and advanced into Gaul, where their Empire was destroyed in that great battle—"ruthless, manifold, immense, obstinate," as Jordanes calls it—on the Catalaunian Plains in Central France in A.D. 451. It should be said that there were many German soldiers in the army of the victors, while others marched and fought under the banner of Attila.

We must now return to the Germans of the Rhine, whose aggressions had been checked, but not for long, by the vigour of the Emperor Julian. In A.D. 368 Valentinian crossed the Rhine and attacked the Alamanni, whose raids had been renewed. Soon peace was made, and in return for accepting the nominal authority of Rome and sending men to join her armies, the Alamanni were left in full possession of the land on which they lived. Then, following a Roman tradition, the Emperor attacked his enemies in more subtle fashion. He succeeded in

bringing about a war between the Burgundians and the Alamanni; in this the latter were victorious, and their strength was unimpaired when, in A.D. 378, they burst suddenly across the Rhine into Gaul, only, however, to be met and beaten by the Emperor Gratian.

As usual, the Franks and the Alamanni grew troublesome together. On the Lower Rhine the Franks appear to have been driven forward by the Saxons and the Frisians; at all events, they attacked the Roman stations, many of which were soon in their hands. They then invaded Gaul, and it was only after they had done enormous damage that the Romans succeeded in expelling them. But they returned to the attack, and the attempt of Stilicho in A.D. 396 to defend this frontier, not by arms, but by treating with the separate tribes of Franks, was Rome's last serious effort to keep the Lower Rhine as the boundary of the Empire. For twenty years Ætius, the conqueror of Attila the Hun, strove manfully to restore the failing power of Rome, and in A.D. 437 he almost exterminated the Burgundians; but from the time of his murder in A.D. 454 to the end of the Western Empire in A.D. 476, the resistance to the advance of the Germans became more and more feeble.

For a hundred years or thereabouts after the great event of A.D. 476, the history of Europe consists mainly of the efforts of the barbarian leaders, Odoacer, Theodoric, and the rest, to establish themselves upon Roman soil. These settlements, however, were not permanent, and Germany was only slightly affected by them. It is possible now, at the beginning of the sixth century, to indicate in a few words which were the chief peoples at this time inhabiting the land. North of the Elbe lived the Angles and the Jutes, and south of that river, between it and the Weser, were the Saxons. On the coast from the Weser to the Rhine were the Frisians, and inland, to the

south and west of them, the Franks. Farther south, with the Rhine on their west, were the Alamanni, and still farther south the Burgundians. In the centre of the country, about the sources of the Elbe, were the Warni, and near them the Thuringians. In the east were the Gepids, north of them the Heruli, and still more north the Langobardi, not yet settled in their Italian home. Finally, in the south was a tribe called the Boii, and known later as the Bavarians.

The chiefs of these tribes are usually referred to by the Latin writers as *duces*, or dukes, but occasionally one was called, or called himself, a king (*rex*), and hence the land over which he ruled became his kingdom. We hear of the kingdoms of the Thuringians, the Avars, the Heruli, and the rest. The difference, however, between a kingdom and a dukedom was not material, and the names were not used on any settled principle. In its German form of *Herzog*, the leader of the host, *dux* undoubtedly describes the early German chieftains more correctly than does *rex*, but, as the position of leader became more settled and its duties more varied, the latter word was generally used for the most powerful rulers.

In the sixth century there were doubtless struggles, numerous and sanguinary, between one and another of the German tribes. Most of these are unrecorded in history, but about one or two we know something, and these few are mainly concerned with the victories of the Franks. During the reign of the great Roman Emperor Justinian I., which ended in A.D. 565, this militant people incorporated in their own the kingdoms of the Thuringians, the Burgundians, and the Bavarians, and became by far the most powerful of all the German tribes. In fact, they must no longer be referred to as a tribe, a word which only connotes a comparatively small body of people, but rather they should be called a nation. There is

another struggle of the sixth century about which we know a little, and this deserves a passing mention. It was between the Lombards and the Gepids, and in it the former were assisted by the Avars, a people allied in race to the Huns, and one which had advanced into Germany and settled to the east of the Gepids. Under the Lombard king Alboin they and their allies were completely victorious, and in A.D. 567 the Gepids were practically annihilated, securing, says Gibbon, "no more than an honourable death." Soon afterwards the Lombards moved away, and the result was the establishment of the kingdom of the Avars, and their dominance for about a century in the east of Germany.

In the period through which we have passed the history of Germany is disconnected and confused. We can find no single thread for our story, no thread around which the facts may naturally group themselves: instead, we have a tangled skein. The reason is that in reality there was at this time no history of Germany, because there was no Germany. There were a number of German tribes, each with its own story of migration and of conquest, and each story distinct from every other, but there was no single history of the whole. The land, which at a later date was called Germany, was merely part of the region, vast and almost unknown, which lay outside the Roman Empire; its boundary on the south and west was fixed by the courses of two great rivers, on the north it was the sea, but on the east it was quite undefined.

Through six hundred years of confusion and ignorance one fact stands clearly out. The small tribes make way for larger ones. The tribal names become fewer, and at the same time better known. We no longer, in the fourth and fifth centuries, read the long and bewildering list of forgotten peoples given by Cæsar and by Tacitus, but some few familiar ones only. Many small tribes have

been consolidated into one large one, a fitting prelude to the time when the many large ones will become one nation.

Two other facts emerge also from the darkness as contributing to the making of the nation. They are the intercourse between the Romans and the inhabitants of Germany, and the arrival of new and foreign peoples in the land. Many Germans entered the Roman service, both civil and military; they learned much of its civilization, and spread this knowledge among their own people. But the Germans were not only pupils, they were teachers. They carried their manners and customs, their methods of agriculture and of domestic life into the boundary districts in which they settled, and even into the Roman Empire, and in the former especially the impress was strong and lasting. At the same time the virility of the Germans was increased by the infusion of new elements into their blood. We cannot believe that large bodies of invaders, sweeping across the country and often for long periods living upon its soil, did not intermarry, to some extent at least, with the older inhabitants. The German, like the British, is a composite race, and Celt and Teuton, Slav and Mongol, have each contributed to make it.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY AND THE FRANKS

LIKE France, the kingdom of Germany owes its origin to the Franks, although when it was established other tribes, alien to them in blood and speech, were included in it. These Franks, or freemen, were, in the fifth century, divided into three main groups, each consisting doubtless of several tribes. The Salian Franks, first mentioned in A.D. 358, lived along the shores of the North Sea, between the rivers Scheldt and Meuse: the Ripuarian Franks had their homes in the valley of the Rhine from Cologne to Trier, and the Chatti inhabited the district now called Hesse. Spurred on by some primitive need, a body of Salian Franks, led by a certain Chlodio, marched across the Rhine and, about A.D. 430, settled in Gaul, which at this time the Romans were hardly able to protect. Previous inroads had been in the nature of temporary raids; on this occasion they made a permanent settlement. Merovech, the successor of Chlodio, was the founder of the line of the Merovingian kings.

But, although some of the Franks had forsaken Germany for France, the connection of this people with the former country was by no means ended. Many Franks remained in Germany, while those who were erecting in Gaul a kingdom upon Roman foundations soon turned their attention to the land they had left. In A.D. 481 Clovis, or Chlodovech, an able and ambitious man, became king of one of the tribes of the Salian Franks.

Having brought under his rule the remaining sections of the Salians, whether they lived on the French or on the German side of the Rhine, he conquered practically the whole of Gaul, and made his kinsmen, the Ripuarian Franks, subject to him. He had subjects in both countries, Germany and Gaul, between which, indeed, there was not as yet any political boundary, but only a natural one, the Rhine.

In A.D. 496 Clovis turned his victorious arms against the Alamanni, who had become involved in a dispute with his vassal Sigebert, king of the Ripuarian Franks. At this time, and again about ten years later, he defeated them in battle, and probably added the northern part of their land to his kingdom; the Alamanni of the south, however, escaped his yoke by becoming the subjects of the great Gothic king, Theodoric.

Clovis died in A.D. 511, when his extensive kingdom was divided among his sons, a step which led directly to the decay of the Frankish power. This, however, was the work of time; meanwhile the Franks in Germany gave further proof of their fighting spirit. Theodoric, a son of Clovis, had assisted a certain Thuringian king, Hermannfried, in a domestic broil. As happens so frequently in these cases, the allies quarrelled over the division of the spoil, and in A.D. 531 a war between the Franks and the Thuringians broke out. Hermannfried was defeated in battle and lost his life, but the Frankish conquest of his country was not very effective, and in A.D. 534, aided by the Saxons, the Thuringians revolted against it. Another people, who about the same time came under the authority of the Franks, were the Bavarians; in this case, however, it was the result, not of conquest, but of diplomacy. The Bavarians probably appreciated the security they would enjoy if, in case of need, they could call upon the protection of the strong Frankish

king, who in his turn was content with an allegiance, in practice hardly more than nominal.

The decay of the Frankish power became evident in the second part of the sixth century. One by one the Alamanni, the Thuringians, and the Bavarians ceased to regard themselves as tributary peoples, and in Germany the Franks retained only the districts inhabited by their Ripuarian kinsfolk, one called after them Franconia. But, although for a century or more the Franks ceased from troubling their independence, the German peoples were not without foes, who came now, not from the west, but from the east. The Avars had established a kingdom in that district, and from this and neighbouring regions hordes of Slavonic marauders penetrated into the heart of Germany. Without effectual assistance from the Franks, the Saxons, the Thuringians, and the Bavarians were left to check these inroads to the best of their power.

The practical independence of the Germans, beginning about the middle of the sixth century, lasted throughout the succeeding one. During this time, however, they had their own troubles. About A.D. 550 a number of Saxons left their dwellings on the Bode and the Unstrut, and accompanied the Lombards to Italy, leaving their homes for others, people of Suevic race, to occupy. But for some reason or other these Saxons did not stay with their companions; they returned to their former habitations, and made war upon those who had usurped them. This war does not seem to have been very destructive to either party; the combatants soon settled down side by side, and in the course of time the district was peopled by a mixed race of Saxons and Suevi. In or about A.D. 634 the Frankish king placed a duke over the neighbouring Thuringians, but this individual, one Radulf, soon made himself an independent ruler, and established a line of dukes which lasted for about a hundred years.

At this time it is impossible to dissever the history of Germany from that of the kingdom of the Franks. As already explained there was no political division between the two lands. The Franks ruled over the greater part of France, and over as much of Germany as they could control, an area varying very much from time to time. There were no maps and treaties to mark, no jurists and historians to decide, what were the exact boundaries of their kingdom. Might was their only right, and their claim to rule over the land of the Alamanni, the Bavarians, and the rest was a good one just as long as the Frankish sword could uphold it, but not a moment longer.

In A.D. 687 the two parts of the Frankish realm, Austrasia and Neustria, were united, and Pepin of Heristal became the actual ruler of the whole. The Merovingian kings still remained, but their race was feeble and decadent, and Pepin, whose official title was mayor of the palace, was strong enough to treat them with indifference, if not disdain. His son, Charles Martel, who was mayor from A.D. 717 to A.D. 741, was able to devote some of his time to bringing the German peoples again under the power of the Franks. Several times he led his soldiers against the Saxons, who had never yet owned themselves as subjects of the Frankish king; and, although he did not entirely subdue them, he forced some of them to pay tribute. Some of the Frisians were brought again under the Frankish yoke, and a rebellion on the part of these people, which occurred in A.D. 734, was crushed so effectively that they gave no more trouble for many years. In Thuringia Charles destroyed the independent dukedom; he reduced the Alamanni to submission, and after several campaigns the Bavarians were brought to a like state. The law of the Bavarians, which, like all other bodies of early law, only existed at first in the minds and memories of the people, was put into

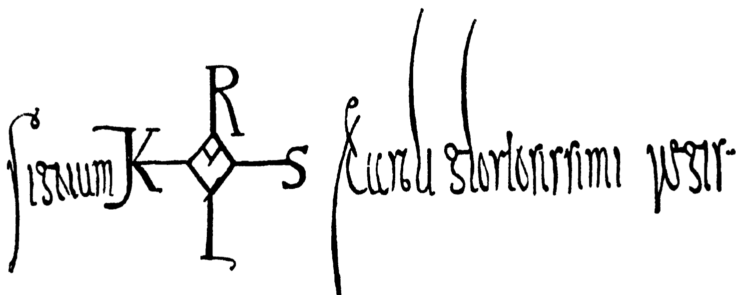
writing in the eighth century, and this admits emphatically the supremacy of the Frankish king, and declares that he can appoint and depose the local duke. When Charles Martel died in A.D. 741, the Frankish power in Germany was probably stronger than ever before.

In A.D. 754 Charles Martel's son, Pepin the Short, was crowned king of the Franks, the last effete Merovingian being sent into a monastery as the first Carolingian ascended the throne. Both before and after this event Pepin and his brother Carloman, who assisted him in the government, had to contend with several risings on the part of their German dependents. In A.D. 742 the Alamanni, assisted by the Saxons and the Bavarians, raised a formidable insurrection. After some trouble this, and also a later rising, were suppressed; the land of the Alamanni was formally included in the Frankish kingdom, and was governed, not by one duke, but by several counts, who were less powerful and therefore less dangerous to the Frankish authority. Connected with this, and also with a feud in the Frankish royal family, was a rising in Bavaria under Duke Odilo, Pepin's brother-in-law. Odilo's allies were surprised and put to flight by the Franks, while the duke himself was made prisoner, but in a short time he regained his liberty and his position, which he held henceforward as a Frankish vassal.

After the death of Odilo, Pepin had further trouble with the Bavarians, but the power of the Franks was not seriously impaired, and just before his death the king received in solemn fashion the homage of the Bavarian duke and his nobles. Against the Saxons Pepin was also successful, although these stubborn folk were not reduced to the same condition of dependence. Before A.D. 754 he marched into their land, and after this date he led his troops several times into the region now called Westphalia. The subjugated Saxons paid tribute, gave hos-

tages, took the oath of fidelity, and promised to hear the Christian missionaries. At the close of Pepin's reign it may be said that approximately half of Germany was under the rule of the Franks, whose authority therein was, considering the time of which we speak, tolerably effective.

Pepin's kingdom passed in due time to his son Charles, the great ruler who is known to us as Charles the Great, or Charlemagne. There has been much dispute as to whether this king was a Frenchman or a German. As a matter of fact he was a Frank, but he made Aix-la-



CHARLEMAGNE'S SIGNATURE TO A CHARTER, SIGNED AT KUFSTEIN, AUGUST 31, 790.

The Emperor's contribution to the signature consists only in the lines within the diamond.

Chapelle in Germany his favourite residence, and two of his wives belonged to a German people, the Alamanni. Moreover, he showed great interest in the welfare of his German subjects, and his reign was a very important period in the history of their country.

Charlemagne's most serious contribution to German history was his long struggle with the Saxons, but before bringing this to a successful conclusion he deposed the duke of Bavaria for contumacious conduct, and, following the precedent set by his father in Alamannia, he placed that land under counts, whose position depended entirely

upon his own favour. The close connection between Bavaria and Frankland, as we may call the Frankish kingdom, brought Charles into contact with the Avars, who, as already mentioned, had set up a kingdom in the east of Germany, and were very troublesome neighbours for the Bavarians. Anxious to protect these people, Charles, in A.D. 791, collected a large army in which Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Frisians, Bavarians, and Alamanni all served. At the head of this force, the first united enterprise of the German people, he marched against the Avars, who offered a feeble resistance, and led his men through their land as far as the Raab. Events in Saxony prevented him from repeating this success in A.D. 792, but in A.D. 795 and A.D. 796 his lieutenants thoroughly defeated the Avars, penetrated to their inmost fortress, and seized an abundance of treasure.

It was in A.D. 772 that Charlemagne entered upon the task of subduing the Saxons, at this time the only German people outside the Frankish kingdom. It proved a lengthy and laborious undertaking, but in the end the pertinacity and resource of the king triumphed, and after thirty-two years Saxony became part of Frankland.

The first campaign resulted in the destruction of the Irminsul, a wooden pillar greatly venerated by the Saxons, the seizure of treasure, and the taking of hostages by the Franks. In A.D. 774 the Saxons retaliated by ravaging Frankland, and in A.D. 775 Charlemagne captured one of their chief fortresses, and left garrisons among them. In this year also three important Saxon tribes formally submitted, but, after the Franks had met with a serious reverse near Minden, their courage returned, and they made a successful attack upon one of the enemy's garrisons. Again Charlemagne himself led his army into their land, and in a short time the war seemed over. A new fortress, called in his honour Carlsburg, was erected on

the Lippe, and terms of peace were arranged; in the succeeding year (A.D. 777), at Paderborn, the Saxon chiefs did homage and gave hostages.

The second period of the struggle began in A.D. 778. The Saxon hero, Widukind, returning from exile, urged his kinsmen to revolt, and under his leadership the valley of the Rhine from Coblentz to Deutz was ravaged. This brought the king himself again into Saxony, and with his appearance the war again seemed over. As before, the chiefs, or some of them, did homage and gave hostages. Three years later, in A.D. 782, Charlemagne divided Saxony into counties on the Frankish model, placed over each a Saxon chief, and issued a set of laws—a "capitulary," as it is called—for the people.

No sooner was this done than the Saxons were again in arms, and this time the rising was more serious than ever. The Frankish priests were driven out, and a Frankish army almost destroyed. In return, Charlemagne came with a large army, put to death 4,500 prisoners who had surrendered, defeated the Saxons in two battles, and ravaged their land as far as the Elbe. In A.D. 784 this work of terrifying the people into submission was continued by the king and his eldest son, Charles, and in A.D. 785 Widukind surrendered, and was baptized into the Christian faith. Saxon soldiers took service in the Frankish army, and again the country seemed thoroughly pacified.

Little of importance occurred until A.D. 792, when there was a fresh rising, and in the following year or two this became so serious that, as we have seen, Charlemagne thought it necessary to abandon for the time his second campaign against the Avars, and to hurry into Saxony. The resistance offered was very slight, but he realized that the old methods of conquering the country were inadequate, and his statesmanlike mind decided upon others.

Many of the Saxons—every third man, we are told—were transported into Frankland, where they were settled down upon the soil; and Saxon youths of good family were educated among the Franks, and then, full of Christian and Frankish ideas, were sent back to their own land. At the same time the people were cowed into submission by the sight of Frankish armies marching through their land, and from A.D. 794 to A.D. 799 each year had its Saxon campaign. These comprehensive measures seem to have been quite successful, and the last years of the Saxon war were spent by the Franks in subduing the Nordalbingians, the only unconquered branch of the Saxons, who lived across the Elbe. After two or three campaigns of devastation they too submitted, and in A.D. 804, as the result of a final expedition, many of them were transported into Frankland.

Told briefly, as it here must be, the tale of this Saxon war forms a bald and jejune narrative, but it may be supplemented by the summary given by Einhard, the friend and biographer of Charlemagne. Einhard says: "It is hard to say how often the Saxons, conquered and humbled, submitted to the king, promised to fulfil his commands, delivered over the required hostages without delay, received the officials sent to them, and were often rendered so tame and pliable that they gave up the service of their heathen gods, and agreed to accept Christianity." Then he states: "But just as quickly as they showed themselves ready to do this, did they also always break their promises, so that one could not really say which of these two courses may truly have been easier to them, and from the beginning of the war scarcely a year passed without bringing such change of mind."

Just as the connection of the Franks with Bavaria brought Charlemagne into conflict with the Avars, so the connection with the Saxons brought him into conflict



AIX-LA-CHAPELLE CATHEDRAL.

The Romanesque portion was built by Charlemagne, and in it his body was placed after his death in 814.

with the Slavs. In both cases the reason for interference was the same—the desire to protect his new subjects from marauding eastern neighbours. These Slavs consisted of three main groups. Between the Saale and the Elbe were the Sorbs, between the Elbe and the Oder were the Wilzi, and in the district now called Mecklenburg were the Abotrites. In A.D. 789 a campaign against the Wilzi resulted in their submission, and in A.D. 812, after several risings, they were again subdued. The Sorbs gave less trouble. At Magdeburg and Halle forts were built to keep them quiet, and on one occasion at least they, like the friendly Abotrites, assisted Charlemagne against the Wilzi.

We have as yet said nothing about the conversion of the Germans to Christianity—a change due in large measure to Frankish influences. Soon after the opening of the Christian era a few isolated Christians appeared in the land, Romans and others who had learned the new faith from them. A little later Christian communities were established in the towns in the valleys of the Rhine and the Danube, and in some of these the organization and traditions of the Christian Church lived unbroken through the years of darkness and disorder. But these relics of Roman Christianity did not affect the mass of the people, and the work of turning them from heathenism may be said to begin with Ulfilas, who preached the Gospel to the Goths. Many Goths accepted Christianity, and during their wanderings they spread it among the people with whom they came into contact. About A.D. 400 the Marcomanni were ruled over by a Christian king, and there were other instances of conversion among the Germans.

A much more important event, however, was the conversion of the great Frank, Clovis, who, in A.D. 496, was baptized at Rheims with 4,000 of his followers. Clovis accepted the orthodox faith; on the other hand, Ulfilas

and those who had received Christianity through his influence were adherents of Arianism, a form of faith which had been declared heretical by the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325. The Merovingian kings were nominally Christians, but their religion did not make much progress among their German subjects, although King Dagobert I. ordered them all to be baptized, and saw bishoprics established at Mainz, Spires, and Worms. The movement received a great impetus when Pepin the Short became king of the Franks. He and his successors attached great importance to the alliance between Church and State, and regarded it as part of their duty to urge—even, perhaps, to compel—all their subjects to accept Christianity. Every assistance was given to the Christian missionaries, many of whom came from the monasteries of Ireland. Among the Bavarians and the Alamanni good work was done by Bishop Rupert of Worms and others were equally zealous, but the best known is the Englishman Boniface.

Boniface, whose earlier name was Wynfrith, crossed over to Germany about A.D. 717, and, being rebuffed by the heathen Frisians, turned to the Bavarians and Thuringians who heard him gladly. He did a great work in organizing the infant Church; bishoprics were founded; and in A.D. 742 he presided over the first German ecclesiastical council.* When he died in A.D. 775, it may be said that all the German tribes, except the Saxons and the Frisians, had accepted Christianity. The pagan faith was not entirely destroyed, but the new religion was dominant, and the German Church was markedly under the influence of Rome.

Like Pepin, Charlemagne attached high importance to the alliance between Church and State, and his wars

* It is not known where this Council was held, but possibly it met at Fulda, where Boniface became abbot about this time.

against the Saxons were religious as well as political. Time after time suppliants for peace were compelled to accept Christianity before their desires were granted. At the time of Charlemagne's death (A.D. 814) the Saxons



EUROPE IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 814.

can be included in the Christian world, although we cannot say that the new doctrines had as yet made any serious impression upon them. Christianity was the official religion of the Frankish kingdom, and was professed

with varying degrees of fervour by the inhabitants of Germany.

Charlemagne's devotion to the Christian Church did not pass unrewarded. Pope Leo III. had many enemies and often needed help. The most powerful person of his acquaintance was undoubtedly the Frankish king, who was in every way qualified to fill the high position of Roman Emperor. For over three hundred years Rome had been without an Emperor, and the prestige and prosperity of the city had suffered accordingly; but, so Leo doubtless thought, a new and powerful Emperor would restore her former glories. Charlemagne was quite willing, and on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, he was crowned Emperor in St. Peter's by the Pope. As a result of this ceremony, his kingdom became an empire, just as years before the duchy of Clovis, his forbear, had become a kingdom. Within this empire Germany was included, and although at this time it was by no means its most important part, it was destined to become so in later centuries.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDATION OF THE GERMAN KINGDOM

WHEN Charlemagne died in 814, his son Louis I., called in after years the Pious, became Emperor, and with his reign we come nearer to the individual history of Germany. The task of ruling a big empire was too much for Louis, and in A.D. 817 he took his three sons, as it were, into partnership. Lothair, the eldest, became joint-Emperor, while Pepin was appointed to govern the western, and Louis the eastern, part of Frankland. Both took the title of king, Pepin being king of the West Franks, and Louis king of the East Franks. With Pepin we have here little or nothing to do, but Louis is an important person in German history. As he was only thirteen years of age when he was made a king, it was not until some years later—A.D. 825 or thereabouts—that he undertook the responsibilities of his position. His residence was generally at Regensburg, and Bavaria was the most important part of his kingdom, but step by step he extended his authority over neighbouring districts, while fighting hard to defend his people from the Slavs. The essential fact is that under his rule the Germans, or East Franks, were becoming separated from the rest of the Empire, and were beginning to have a life of their own. The various tribes were not yet a single people, but they had a king of their own; this is shown by the fact that he is distinguished from all other kings of the same name as Louis the German.

But as yet Louis the German was only an under-king, his father Louis being Emperor and overlord of the whole land. The Emperor's life was a very troubled one. His second wife Judith bore him a son Charles, afterwards called the Bald, and she was very anxious to secure for this child a share of his father's empire. The result was years of discord and intrigue. In 833 the three elder sons revolted, and a meeting to make peace between them and their father took place near Colmar. This was marked by so much treachery and falsehood that the place was popularly known as the *Lügenfeld*, or "field of lies." Deserted and betrayed, the Emperor passed completely into the power of his sons, who sent him into a monastery, and ruled his empire themselves. Soon, however, they quarrelled, and in less than a year after his deposition Louis the German and Pepin changed sides and brought about their father's restoration. Further discords and bickerings followed, and these continued throughout the rest of the life of Louis, which ended in A.D. 840.

King Pepin had predeceased his father, and Louis only left three sons—Lothair, Louis the German, and their half-brother, Charles. At once fighting broke out between them. Lothair claimed the whole empire, but was beaten in battle by Louis and Charles, and in A.D. 842 the three agreed upon a division of the lands. The consequence of this was the important treaty of Verdun, signed in August, A.D. 843—a treaty which, we may say, created the German kingdom. Louis, its king, obtained all the lands ruled by the Franks on the east side of the Rhine, together with a district around Mainz, Worms, and Spires on the west side of the river, Bavaria, Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony being the most important countries under his rule. An incident connected with these negotiations shows how rapidly the Germans were separating

themselves from the other Franks. When in A.D. 842 Louis and Charles met at Strassburg, and took an oath to be faithful to each other, it was found that the followers of Charles could not understand the speech of Louis's men, and *vice versa*. Consequently, the oath was drawn up in two languages, or dialects—one German, and the other Romance—and only then could all understand it.

Called by a monkish eulogist the model of a national king, Louis the German was untiring in defending his subjects against their neighbours, Normans, Bohemians, Moravians, and the rest, but at the same time he did not neglect opportunities of extending his authority within the Frankish Empire. Answering an invitation, he attempted to take possession of Aquitaine, but in June, A.D. 870, he finally abandoned this enterprise. In A.D. 868 he and Charles the Bald agreed to divide between them the kingdom of their nephew Lothair—one called after him Lotharingia—who was childless and feeble. When, however, Lothair died in A.D. 869, Charles ignored this agreement, and, taking advantage of the illness of Louis, seized the whole of Lotharingia. Quickly recovering, Louis asserted his rights, and the result was the important treaty of Merssen, which divided it between the two.

The share of Lotharingia which Louis secured by this treaty of Merssen was a fairly large slice of land on the west of the Rhine. His kingdom, soon to be known as Germany, had now nearly the proportions which it retained throughout the Middle Ages. The mountains of Bohemia and the courses of the rivers Elbe and Saale formed its eastern boundary, whence it stretched across Central Europe to the Rhine; and on the other side of that river it included the lands called at the present day Alsace and Lorraine. In it were the territories of the five great German tribes, and, being now a Christian country, it

had five archbishoprics—Mainz, Trier, Cologne, Salzburg, and Bremen—and numerous bishoprics and abbeys.

Louis the German died in August, A.D. 876, leaving three sons, to each of whom he bequeathed a portion of his kingdom. That part of it, however, which lay on the west of the Rhine was promptly claimed by his half-brother, Charles the Bald, but these pretensions were completely shattered by his defeat at Andernach by the younger Louis in October, A.D. 876. This victory was followed by a period of disorder in Germany, which lasted for about fifty years. Two of the sons of Louis the German died without issue male, and in A.D. 882 the third son, Charles, later called the Fat, became sole king of Germany. A little later, owing to another death, he became king of France, while he had already been crowned Emperor by the Pope. He had thus united again almost the whole of Charlemagne's extensive empire, but the union did not last. Spending much time in expeditions to Italy, Charles neglected his subjects, and soon was thoroughly disliked both in France and Germany.

It was during this reign that the Northmen began to make themselves a terror to the Germans, just as they had recently done to the English. Sailing along the Rhine, they plundered the cities on its banks, while the inhabitants waited in vain for the protection of their king. Moreover, these were not the only foes who took advantage of the weakened defences of Germany, as from the east the Magyars began their plundering raids.

At length the Germans, or some of them, were roused to action. Carloman, the eldest son of Louis the German, had left an illegitimate son, Arnulf, who had shown himself a capable leader against the Northmen and the Magyars, and he seemed the natural leader of the discontented people. Having collected an army, he marched

to Tribur. Here a great assembly was held, and Charles the Fat was deposed, Arnulf being recognized by the assembled Germans as their king. This proceeding is described by the great historian, Leopold von Ranke, as "the first independent action of the German secular world." Arnulf's actual authority was confined to Bavaria and the immediate neighbourhood, and he was satisfied with a nominal recognition of his supremacy by the petty kings who sprang up in other parts of the country. He was successful, however, in protecting his people from the attacks of the Northmen, and some Slavonic people placed themselves under his rule.

Arnulf died in A.D. 899, when his young son Louis became German king. Under him Germany was in a deplorable condition, and it is not surprising that the chronicler, familiar as he was with the Scripture, should say: "Woe unto the land whose king is a child." External foes were terrible and many, but in addition there were serious feuds in various parts, and no one able to suppress disorder. In A.D. 911, when the Magyars were devastating the country, Louis died and the German branch of the family of Charlemagne became extinct.

During this time the system called "feudalism" arose in Germany. Left to their own resources by their ruler, the people began to look for protection to some powerful person in the neighbourhood; then, under his leadership, they went out to fight their foes. These leaders were usually called dukes, and, being brave and capable, they found little difficulty in making their power permanent; thus, while the authority of the king was declining, that of the duke was increasing. First of all leaders only in times of war and danger, they made themselves powerful in times of peace, and soon they were not only the war lords, but also the judges and the landlords of the people. They and others in similar positions secured large tracts of land,

which they distributed to their followers on condition that they received assistance in case of need. In their turn these vassals secured followers on similar conditions, and in this way the whole edifice of feudalism was built up. In a word, the dukes and counts acted almost exactly as William the Conqueror was to act in England more than a century later.

At the opening of the tenth century there were five powerful dukes, and, consequently, five important duchies in Germany—Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, and Lorraine. Saxony, Franconia, and Bavaria were the homes of three of the great German tribes; Swabia was almost identical with the land of the Alamanni, and Lorraine had become part of Germany as a result of the treaty of Merssen. Thuringia had just been seized by the duke of Saxony, and for a time was only an appanage of the larger country. In each of the five one or two families, whose ancestors had, perhaps, been appointed to official positions by Charlemagne, became more powerful than their neighbours, and from these the dukes sprang. When, as in Saxony and Bavaria, one family stood easily pre-eminent, the process was simple; but where, as in the other duchies, two families or factions contended for power, their land was torn by strife until one or the other was vanquished. It was during the years of disorder which followed the death of Louis the German that these dukes became prominent, and Germany, like England before the time of Egbert, was divided into several independent states, called, however, not kingdoms, but duchies.

In addition to these five dukes, there were in other parts of the land other rulers who also paid little heed to any king or outside authority. Charlemagne had divided much of his empire into *gaus*, or counties, and over each had set a *Graf*, or count. As long as he lived these men

were kept in their places as the mere representatives of the Emperor, but after his death some of their successors ignored their nominal superior, ruled their counties as they willed, and, like private property, handed them on to their sons. In this way a powerful nobility, and one which would not lightly brook restraint, sprang up in Germany. Some few of these counts were appointed to look after districts on the frontiers of the Empire, and to them special powers were given, just as in England they were given to those who ruled the counties palatine. From its position the land over which they ruled was called a "mark," the equivalent of the English "march," and from this came the title margrave, the count of the mark. Each in an exceptional position, the margraves had special opportunities of making themselves powerful; some did so, and from this circumstance arose the strong German states ruled by the margraves of Austria and Brandenburg, in addition to others less prominent in history.

By this time, as in England and France, the Church was very strong in Germany. Estates in abundance had been given to it, and its archbishops, bishops, and abbots were usually men of great wealth. They were also, it should be remembered, educated men in an uneducated age, and these two possessions, wealth and education, combined to make them extremely influential. Louis the Child, king only in name, was controlled by Hatto, archbishop of Mainz, who during his reign was the real ruler of Germany, if, indeed, that distracted land had one. After the death of Louis and the end of the Carolingian family, it was Hatto who prevented the kingdom from falling to pieces and reverting to the condition it was in before the time of Charlemagne.

When Louis the Child died, Hatto and his friends set to work to find another king. Their choice fell upon

Conrad, duke of Franconia, who was appointed at Forchheim in November, 911, only two months after the death of Louis. This was a most important event, and established an important precedent, for although something of the kind had been done in the case of Arnulf, the practice of electing the German kings really dates from the time of Conrad. While nearly all the other kings of Europe may be likened to members of our House of Lords, the German kings rather resemble the members of the House of Commons, where occasionally son succeeds father, but then only by the favour of the voters.

The event of 911, too, brought into existence the electors, who were destined to play such an important part in German history. At first they were those great men who found it convenient to attend the meeting, and who were influential enough to secure attention; gradually, however, the number was reduced to a mere handful, the great archbishops and three or four of the most powerful lay rulers. As the number of electors declined, the power and dignity of each increased, and, consequently, in the course of a century or so, the position was a greatly coveted one. Quarrels took place as to whether this or that prince was entitled to vote, and these were finally settled in 1356, when the famous Golden Bull, drawn up by the Emperor Charles IV., fixed the number of electors at seven, a sacred figure, and these were named in the document.

Conrad's chief supporter after Hatto was Otto the Illustrious, duke of Saxony, who appears to have declined the honour himself on account of his advancing years. The dukes of Bavaria and Swabia did not care much for the new king, but the duke of Lorraine, who had not been present at the election, disliked him still more. Rather than acknowledge Conrad as his king—for after the election each of the great princes was expected to do homage to

the new sovereign—he placed himself and his land under the protection of Charles the Simple of France. The result was a war between the French and the German kings, but Conrad did not recover Lorraine, although he brought Alsace within the boundaries of his kingdom. This took place at the beginning of Conrad's reign of seven years, and during the remainder of it he was engaged in fighting one or other of the dukes of Saxony, Swabia and Bavaria. From time to time he experienced successes, but they were isolated ones, and he had very little authority outside his own duchy of Franconia. The dukes were as powerful as the king, whom they regarded not as a sovereign ruling by right Divine, but as one of themselves—their equal, perhaps, but nothing more. When Conrad died, in December, 918, there was another election. This time the German princes chose Henry, duke of Saxony, a son of Duke Otto the Illustrious—a choice due, it is said, to the advice of the dying Conrad. Henry is known to all as the Fowler, the story being that when his brother brought to him the sceptre and the other emblems of his new position he found him engaged in snaring birds. It is now asserted that, like so many interesting stories, this is a legend only, and that the surname of Fowler was first given to Henry in the *Annalista Saxo* of the twelfth century. This may be, but the king will always be known as the Fowler, and it is quite possible that some other incident in his life accounts for the name. Tradition lingers long among an unlettered people, and it is hardly likely that "Fowler" is a mere invention of a later age.

Henry was stronger than Conrad, and during his reign the German kingdom began to take a more definite shape. He put down a rising in Alsace, and then, watching his opportunity, he took advantage of troubles in France to regain Lorraine. In 923 he seized the eastern part of

that duchy, which included the archbishoprics of Trier and Cologne; and in 925, when Duke Giselbert of Lorraine submitted, he completed the work. To maintain his influence, he married one of his daughters to Giselbert, but it was still necessary to make occasional expeditions into the duchy in order to check the efforts of France to recover it.

With the other duchies Henry had less trouble, although, like Conrad, he was regarded with some jealousy by their rulers. This was, perhaps, not very evident in the case of the duke of Franconia, whose relations with the king were very friendly, but in both Swabia and Bavaria Henry met with opposition and disregard. He did not, however, take this very seriously, but, on the contrary, was satisfied with a nominal authority.

This policy, opportunist though it may be, left Henry free to attend to the affairs of his own Saxony. At this time the duchy reached as far east as the Elbe, and beyond this river the Slavs lived and the Magyars wandered. The latter were especially troublesome, and had been so during Conrad's reign. In 924 they burst into Saxony and Franconia. Henry did not feel strong enough to meet them in the open field; consequently he persuaded them to agree to a truce for nine years, and promised tribute to them. This truce only applied to Saxony, however, with the result that the other parts of Germany suffered as much, perhaps more than before, from the invasions of these marauding bands. Henry made excellent use of the nine years of peace. He followed the example of the English king, Edward the Elder, to whom he was related, in building a number of fortresses and erecting walls around the larger villages, the residences of bishops, and markets, abbeys, and other places of importance. His object was to provide "cities of refuge" for the people whose homes were in lonely places, and who

were especially exposed to the attacks of the Magyars, and in these stores of food were kept.

The Saxon army was greatly improved by Henry. In order to be able to cope with the rapidly moving Magyars, some of his soldiers were horsed, while all, infantry and cavalry alike, were drilled and disciplined. This army he employed against some Slavonic tribes, living in the modern Prussia; their fortresses were taken, several of them submitted and paid tribute, and in a few years Henry's authority was extended from the Elbe to the Oder. True, in this district it was of the vaguest character, but it had the excellent result of making the Elbe a safe boundary for Saxony. In company with the duke of Bavaria, Henry, in 929, invaded Bohemia, made his way to Prague, and forced the duke to take an oath of fealty.

In 933 the Magyars returned, but to meet with a reception very different from their former one. Henry and his Saxons were ready. A renewal of the tribute was refused, and as soon as the enemy had divided his forces into two parts, the king attacked one and then the other, putting both to flight. The result was five years of peace for Saxony. Henry's next and last campaign was against the Danes. He marched into Jutland, made the Danish king promise tribute, and restored to Germany the land between the Eider and the Schlei, which had been included in Charlemagne's empire, and had afterwards been seized by the Danes. When Henry died, in July, 936, Germany was at peace. Along its eastern frontier were peoples who were paying tribute, and every land inhabited by a German population was part of the German kingdom.

CHAPTER V

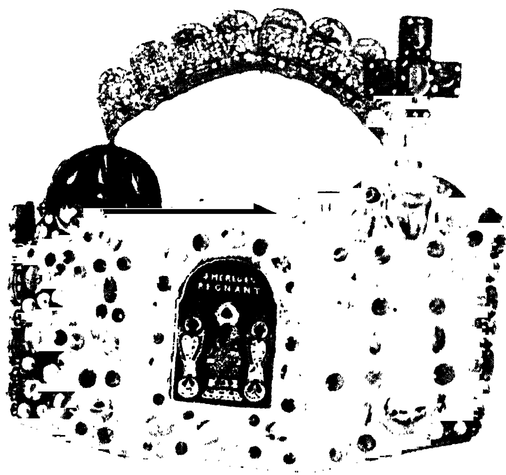
OTTO THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

WHEN Henry the Fowler began to reign, he was only one German ruler among several, all equally powerful, although he held the position of king; but when he died, the other dukes regarded themselves less as rivals and more as vassals. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the new king was the old king's son. He was elected by the princes, but it was almost Hobson's choice, there being no other candidate with the prestige possessed by Otto, duke of Saxony and son of Henry the Fowler. Moreover, if another reason for choosing him was necessary, had not Henry just before his death received from some of the electors a promise that they would do this.

Otto, who was now twenty-four years old, had married Edith, daughter of the English king, Edward the Elder; but, of course, he had not yet earned the title of the Great, by which he is always known. After his coronation, which took place at Aix-la-Chapelle, a feast was held, and at this Otto was served by the four German dukes, who in this way showed that they were his servants and vassals. The duke of Lorraine acted as chamberlain, Bavaria as marshal, Franconia as steward, and Swabia as cupbearer.

Henry the Fowler had been duke of Saxony first and king of Germany second, but with Otto the positions were reversed. Seated upon the throne, two questions





A. Rischgitz.

TWO FAMOUS GERMAN CROWNS.

The upper one is the thirteenth-century crown of the German Kings, at Aix-la-Chapelle

claimed his attention. He wished to bring the German dukes really, and not only ceremonially, under his rule, and he must protect his subjects from the Slavs and Magyars, and so complete his father's work. To defend the frontier of the Elbe he appointed two margraves, Gero and Hermann Billung, but he himself took the field against the Magyars who returned to Germany in 937. In 938 Otto was warring in Bavaria, where a new duke refused to do homage to him.

More serious was the unrest in Franconia, which had hitherto given little trouble. Duke Eberhard revolted against the king, whose interference he resented, and found a helper in Thankmar, Otto's half-brother. After having met with a slight success in Saxony, Thankmar was defeated by Otto and killed, while Eberhard soon gave up the struggle, and after a short imprisonment was released and restored. Otto's brother Henry was the next rebel. He allied himself with Giselbert, duke of Lorraine, and called the Saxons to arms; but Otto was too strong for him, and he fled to his ally. Giselbert then secured assistance from Louis IV. of France, and made an alliance with Eberhard of Franconia. In 939 Otto marched into Lorraine, and, as the result of a fight at Andernach, both Eberhard and Giselbert lost their lives, while Henry sued for peace.

Otto now struck a blow at the independence of the great duchies. In Franconia no duke was allowed to succeed Eberhard, and Lorraine also was placed more closely under the control of the king. In 944 its duke was Conrad the Red, who, three years later, married Otto's daughter. By other family ties Otto sought to attain his ends. In 947, on the death of the duke, he made his pardoned brother Henry, duke of Bavaria, while his son Ludolf married a daughter of Duke Hermann of Swabia, and became duke himself on his father-in-law's

death in 949. All the duchies were now under the king's control, the counts, who administered their various parts, being appointed by him, not as heretofore by the duke. Finally, to strengthen still more the hold of his family upon Germany, Otto, in 946, appointed his son Ludolf as his successor, and homage was paid to him as such.

Before turning to the important work done by Otto beyond the Elbe, his relations with France may be mentioned. Louis IV. was anxious to regain Lorraine and Alsace, which he invaded twice. In 940 Otto was free to march against him, and in 942 peace was made, the German king retaining all his possessions. Later Otto tried to make peace between Louis and his rebellious vassal Hugh the Great, duke of the Franks, each of whom had married one of his sisters. In 946 he made war upon Hugh, and in 947 arranged a truce between him and the French king.

Along the Elbe, Gero and Hermann, the King's lieutenants, were doing their best to keep the unruly Slavs in check, but in 939 Otto himself appeared there, subdued the Hevelli, and set to work to provide the conquered lands with some political and ecclesiastical organization. German settlers were planted therein, and in 948 bishoprics were established at Havelberg and Brandenburg. Farther north three were founded for the conquered Danes, and one at Oldenburg for the Wagrians. This policy was fairly successful. The land between Elbe and Oder became more Christian and more German, and at a later date Otto established for it the archbishopric of Magdeburg. In 950 he led an army into Bohemia, and forced its duke to take an oath of allegiance.

In 952 Otto paid his first visit to Italy. During his short absence from Germany a conspiracy was formed against him. This was organized by his son Ludolf,

who was in communication with his brother-in-law, Conrad the Red, then in Italy with Otto, and other influential persons were also concerned in it. These serious dissensions in the royal family were not lessened when the news came that the king, who had been a widower since 946, had married again in Italy. Possibly Ludolf feared that this might jeopardize his right to succeed his father, but this was not the cause of the rebellion, which had a more solid foundation.

Otto returned from Italy and reached Mainz, only to find himself in the power of his foes. Certain promises were extorted from him, but these he repudiated as soon as he was free, and set to work to crush the rebellion. He was only just in time. In all the duchies the insurgents found support, and the clergy showed signs of deserting the king. Otto tried negotiations, and when these failed he went through the form of depriving Ludolf and Conrad of their duchies. In Lorraine his cause was upheld successfully by his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, but Otto had been repulsed from Mainz and Regensburg before the tide turned in his favour. In 954, the year following the outbreak of the rebellion, the Magyars again invaded Bavaria, and were welcomed by Ludolf and Conrad. This unpatriotic proceeding brought recruits to the king's side, and soon Conrad submitted. A little later Ludolf followed his example, and in 955 Bavaria alone was in revolt. Here Regensburg was taken by Duke Henry, who soon put out the last flickers of the insurrection. Otto had escaped from the greatest peril which ever threatened his throne.

The king then turned against the Magyars, who were defeated on the Lechfeld, near Augsburg, in August, 955. It was a fierce fight, and the memory of it lived long in the minds of the people, but it was chiefly remarkable because it appears to have put an end to the plunderings

of the Magyars, who settled down slowly to a less restless life. Germany was now fairly peaceful, and, after spending two or three years in ordering its government, Otto left again for Italy.

We are not here concerned with the course of events in Italy, but one incident during Otto's stay therein was pregnant with consequences for Germany's future. Like Charlemagne, Otto was a great believer in the Church as an aid to government, and he trusted much to the steady support of the prelates on whom he bestowed wealth and honours. The consummation of this policy was obviously to win the support of the head of the Christian Church—the Pope of Rome—and this was not difficult. Pope John XII. had many enemies, and was very glad indeed to secure the favour of a strong king; the result was that Otto went to Rome at the Pope's invitation, and on February 2, 962, was crowned Emperor.

This was the restoration of the empire of Charlemagne, one which in theory embraced the whole of the Christian world, and had as its rulers the Pope and the Emperor, each discharging different functions, but each relying upon the support of the other. The conception was a noble one, but for Germany the practical results were disastrous. The land was showing signs of developing a vigorous nationality of its own. Already the word *deutsch* was coming into use to designate the people, for whom there had hitherto been no collective name, and there were other signs pointing in the same direction. This movement was seriously retarded when Otto became Holy Roman Emperor, and undertook duties for himself and his successors which were to conflict with those of a German king.

Otto reigned for ten years after his return to Germany in 963, and during this time his lieutenants were busy,



A. Rischgitz.

OTTO II., EMPEROR OF GERMANY, AND HIS SPOUSE.

Photographed for this work from an ivory in the Musée Cluny, Paris.

fighting against the Slavs and pushing forward the frontier of Germany to the east, where both the Poles and the Bohemians came to some extent under his power.

The Emperor died in May, 973, and his successor was his son Otto II., whose position had been assured, as far as human agency could assure it, by his coronation during his father's lifetime, not only at Aix-la-Chapelle, but also at Rome. Immediately after his accession he was faced with difficulties in Lorraine, Bavaria, and Swabia. These were especially serious in Bavaria, the ruler of which, Otto's kinsman, Duke Henry, rose in revolt. In 974 and 976 he was defeated, and on the second occasion his duchy was partially dismembered. Its east mark, the later Austria, was made independent of it; Carinthia became a separate duchy, and the powers of future dukes of Bavaria were further diminished by lands and privileges transferred to the bishops of Salzburg and Passau. In the same few years (973–977) Otto made expeditions against the Bohemians, and tried to compose the jealousies of rival families in Lorraine. In 977 there was again trouble in Bavaria, but this was put down without much difficulty. The main event of the following year was more exciting. Lothair, king of France, invaded Lorraine, and suddenly appeared before Aix-la-Chapelle, where Otto was residing. The town was seized and plundered, while the Emperor just managed to escape. To avenge this outrage Otto marched to Paris, but he was not strong enough to capture the city, and nothing remained for him but a retreat. An expedition against the Poles was, like all Otto's wars in this direction, futile, and in 980 the Emperor went to Italy, and was never seen again in Germany.

Otto II. died in December, 983, when his infant son became German king as Otto III., and a contest arose

about his guardianship. Released from prison, Henry of Bavaria claimed the position, but his real aim was the crown itself, and he had powerful supporters. The archbishops of Trier, Cologne, and Magdeburg were on his side, while the tributary Bohemians and Poles were understood to favour him, as also did the strong Saxon nobles. He made a secret treaty with Lothair of France, but all his efforts were in vain. Willigis, archbishop of Mainz, was the energetic upholder of Otto's cause, and at his instance Theophano, the Byzantine widow of Otto II., came to Germany and was made regent. Henry took up arms in 984, but in 985 peace was made, and his duchy of Bavaria was restored to him. In 994 Otto was declared of age, but he preferred Italy to Germany, and when he died in December. 1002, his kingdom lost not a real, but only a phantom king.

In Germany this reign is mainly memorable because it witnessed a reaction in favour of the Slavs, and the partial undoing of the work of Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great. The movement had begun in the concluding years of the reign of Otto II., especially after his serious defeat in Italy in 982. The Danes and the Bohemians plundered the border districts, while Slavonic tribes captured Hamburg, Brandenburg, and other places. Theophano, before her death in 991, did something to defend Germany, and in 990 was successful in reducing the Bohemian duke to his earlier position of a German vassal. In 994, however, there was a general rising of the Slavonic tribes between the Elbe and the Oder, and the Germans had the utmost difficulty in defending their borders.

Otto was not equal to the task of ruling a harried kingdom. He visited Germany in 999, but he did nothing for its welfare; and when he died, its eastern border had been contracted all along the line, while its prestige had suffered

heavily. A new archbishopric, founded by him at Gnesen, had deprived Magdeburg of much of its influence, the duke of the Poles had been released from his tribute, and, in general, the Slavs had regained a good deal that they had lost during the century just closed.

Otto left no sons, and after his death the election of a new king was less of a form than it had been since the time of Otto the Great. The successful candidate was Duke Henry of Bavaria, a descendant of Henry the Fowler and a kinsman of the dead king. He had prudently seized the royal insignia, and, supported by the leading prelates, he carried the day when the electors met at Mainz in June, 1002. Very different from Otto III., Henry was an energetic ruler, and devoted his time to the duties of his position, but he was not very successful in recovering Germany's lost prestige. His failure was due, partly at least, to the increasing strength of the Slavonic peoples. These were no longer isolated and wandering tribes, but growing nations with settled homes, and led by ambitious rulers. This was especially the case with Poland, and during practically the whole of Henry's reign there was war between the Germans and the Poles.

The Polish Duke Boleslaus had conquered Meissen, Lusatia, and Silesia, and was fighting against the Saxons when Henry became king. He then brought Bohemia under his power, and was fortunate enough to find allies in Germany itself. The king quickly had these rebels in his power: he gained the alliance of the Liutzi, and in 1004 he began the war against the Poles. He took Prague, crossed the Oder, and then, after a reverse, made peace with Boleslaus, who gave up Bohemia, but kept his other conquests. The second Polish war lasted from 1007 to 1013. At its end Boleslaus did homage to Henry, but kept all his conquests. In 1015, after he

had refused to keep his engagements, a third war broke out. The Russians and the Hungarians assisted Henry, but he gained no conspicuous success, and in 1018 peace was made at Bautzen. Henry had failed to dislodge the Poles from the lands they had won, while the Elbe, not the coveted Oder, remained the boundary of his kingdom on the north-east.

Within Germany Henry had some little difficulty in establishing his position, but after he had led an army into Swabia and made promises to the Saxons and the Thuringians, all the German peoples recognized him. But his troubles were only beginning. In 1005 he put down a rebellion in Friesland, and he fought with indifferent success against Baldwin, count of Flanders. In Lorraine and the neighbourhood some disorder was caused by Henry's brothers-in-law, Adalbero and Dietrich of Luxemburg, who were assisted in their resistance to Henry's commands by their elder brother Henry, just made duke of Bavaria; but after a desultory struggle the three submitted. An attempt, repeated again and again, to secure the crown of Burgundy by arrangement with its king, Henry's childless uncle Rudolph, was foiled owing to the hostility of the Burgundian nobles, but Henry prepared the way for an extension of Germany's influence in this quarter. In Swabia and Carinthia the king had troubles with the dukes and those who desired to succeed or to replace them, while in Saxony there was continuous disorder.

Henry made three journeys to Italy, and was crowned Emperor at Rome in 1014. Before this event he had called himself King of the Romans, and henceforward this title was born by his successors as subsidiary to that of Holy Roman Emperor. Hitherto they had been kings of the East Franks, kings of the Franks and Saxons, or German kings; but from Henry's time this title was

supplanted, at least officially, by that of King of the Romans. Henry favoured the movement for reforming the Church, which was gaining strength in his time, and was very friendly with Odilo, abbot of Cluny, which was the centre of the new cause. Like Pope Benedict VIII., he wished to prevent clerical marriage and the sale of ecclesiastical offices. Although very generous to the Church, he was by no means the slave of the clergy, over whom the royal power was frequently asserted. He died in July, 1024.

The successor of the childless Henry was a Franconian count named Conrad, known as Conrad II., who was elected king in September, 1024. He was the first of the Franconian, or Salian kings, who are so called because they are supposed to have belonged to the tribe of the Salian Franks. Conrad was also descended from Otto the Great, through the wife of Conrad the Red. He was thus both a Frank and a Saxon, or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, he was neither, but a German.

After his coronation at Mainz the new king made a progress through Germany, which is described by his biographer Wipo, who tells how he received all the tribute due from the barbarians dwelling along the borders of Saxony, and remarks that "by this journey he bound the kingdom most firmly in the bond of peace and in the royal protection."

We have seen how constant bickerings in the great duchies—Saxony, Bavaria, and Swabia—troubled the reign of Henry II. There were at this time no accepted rules of succession, and the result was that nearly every time a duke died there was an outbreak of disorder, often because his son or some other relative wished to succeed him, while the king preferred to give the vacant post to someone more dependent upon himself. If this did not happen, as often as not, two or more of the late

duke's kinsfolk fought among themselves for the office of ruler.

In dealing with these duchies Conrad was more successful than Henry had been. Fortune favoured him from the first. In 1025 Boleslaus, the great Pole, died, and he was freed from a dangerous enemy. In 1026 he travelled to Italy, and was crowned Emperor in Rome, winning further prestige by successful assertions of his authority in the south of the country. When he returned to Germany, however, he found that the floating elements of discontent had gathered around his stepson Ernest, duke of Swabia, who was in revolt. This was soon crushed, and the Emperor took advantage of his strength. In 1027 he gave Bavaria to his own son, afterwards the Emperor Henry III., and twelve years later, ignoring the protests of the nobles, he appointed him duke of Swabia. Franconia was in his own hands, and Saxony, Thuringia, Austria, Carinthia, and Lorraine were the only districts of any size not entirely under his own control. Before this was accomplished Conrad had been obliged to march across the eastern frontier of his kingdom. Rising to power, the Hungarians were becoming dangerous neighbours, and in 1030 they were attacked by the German king. He was not, however, very successful, as his foes captured Vienna, and he made peace by ceding some disputed territory. He was more fortunate against the Poles, who, after the death of Boleslaus, began to fight among themselves, and he regained Lusatia. The ruler of Bohemia did homage to him, and in 1035 he concluded a treaty with Canute, king of Denmark and England, by which Germany's northern boundary was defined, and about the same time he made two expeditions against the tribes living beyond the Elbe. Conrad's greatest exploit was to add to Germany the kingdom of Burgundy when King Rudolph died in 1032. His claim

had been admitted, but owing to the appearance of a rival—Odo of Champagne—he had to fight for the throne. However, he was successful, and in two years Odo had been driven out.

Conrad's ecclesiastical policy was to free himself from dependence on the Church by regaining lands granted by his predecessors, and by making more use of laymen for public business. Henry III., who had been crowned king during his father's lifetime, succeeded to the throne on Conrad's death in June, 1039. No sign of opposition appeared from any quarter, and it seemed as if the electors had forgotten that they had the right to choose their king.

The reign of Henry III. was not unlike that of his immediate predecessors. He had two foes, the unruly neighbour without and the rebellious vassal within. By this time Bohemia, under Boleslaus,* had taken the place formerly filled by Poland as the leading Slavonic power. To arrest its further growth Henry took up arms. Twice he was defeated, but he persevered, and in 1041 he had the satisfaction of receiving the homage of Boleslaus, who, however, retained Moravia, Silesia, and his Polish conquests. Bohemia being thus quiet, the German king turned his attention to the Hungarians, who were quarrelling over the claims of two rivals for their throne. One of these, Peter, was driven out, and took refuge in Germany; the other, Aba, secured the crown and signalized his victory by attacking Bavaria. Four times did Henry invade Hungary. Aba's promises of obedience were broken, and at last he was put to death and Peter was restored.

Soon, however, the Slavonic and heathen elements revived; they worsted the German and Christian ones,

* This Boleslaus must be distinguished from his namesake, the duke of the Poles.

and war was the consequence. In 1051, and again in 1052, Henry marched against the Hungarians, and compelled their new king, Andrew, to renew his promise of tribute. But this was not kept, and by the end of the reign German influence had almost vanished from Hungary. In Bohemia and Poland it survived, but only to a very slight extent.

Within his kingdom Henry weakened his power by allowing Bavaria and Swabia to pass out of his own hands, thus reversing his father's policy, but his first serious trouble was in Lorraine—always an unruly district, as in it French and German influences came into collision. In 1044 it was divided, not for the first time, into two parts, Upper and Lower Lorraine, and there was an outbreak. Duke Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, chagrined at not receiving the whole, found allies in Henry I. of France and other princes; but the German king had little difficulty in putting down the rebellion. Godfrey was thrown into prison, but was released and restored within a year. The discontent, however, was not ended. In 1048 Godfrey, with Baldwin of Flanders and Dirk, count of Holland, led a second insurrection, which Henry hurried from Italy to crush. By this time he was Emperor, having been crowned at Rome on Christmas Day, 1046.

This combination was formidable, and the German king realized that he could not meet it alone. He made an alliance with the king of France, and obtained promises of help from England and Denmark; then, in 1048, he was ready. Dirk and Godfrey soon submitted, Holland came under Henry's power, and Lorraine was reduced to obedience. The resistance of Flanders, however, was more stubborn, and a further expedition in 1054 failed to quell Baldwin's hostility.

In 1053 there was a small rising in Bavaria. Duke

Conrad was deposed, the vacant duchy being given to Henry's infant son, afterwards the Emperor Henry IV. Conrad and his sympathisers then took advantage of the king's absence in Italy to mature their plans for a big insurrection. They were joined by Godfrey of Lorraine, but fortune was against them, and, when the king hurried from Italy, the rising was soon over.

In Saxony, which of late the German kings had left to its new line of dukes, there was a little trouble. Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, a remarkably ambitious prelate, had schemes for making his archiepiscopal see dominant over all northern Europe. It is not surprising that he came into collision with Duke Bernard of Saxony, especially when he tried to recover lands which had formerly been the property of the Church. Other reasons for distrust existed. The dukes were active in defending their land against the Slavs, but were not equally zealous in supporting the missions of the Church. The tendency was for the Saxons to divide themselves into two parties, one national, around the duke, and the other, German and ecclesiastical, around the archbishop of Bremen. Henry himself favoured the prelate, but he was not indifferent to the royal interests. To strengthen his own position he kept many estates in his own hands, and built a residence at Goslar, and he was in Saxony when he died at Bodfeld in October, 1056.

CHAPTER VI

GERMANY AND THE PAPACY

FROM this time the history of Germany takes a wider range. Local affairs, the rivalries of the various dukes, the rise of one usurper and the overthrow of another, the aggression of one Slavonic tribe and the submission of another, all became of minor importance as the German nation becomes more prominent in European politics.

The main interest of the period on which we are entering is the struggle between the Popes and the Emperors. The Empire owed its existence to the needs of two Popes, the one who crowned Charlemagne in the ninth century, and the other who crowned Otto in the tenth, and since then it had lived in harmony with the Papacy, each confined to its special interests. Between the two, however, there was much debatable ground, and towards this they were rapidly moving. When it was reached there would come the inevitable struggle for its possession, a struggle destined to shake Germany from end to end.

At the time when Edward the Confessor was ruling England, and William of Normandy was planning to succeed him, the condition of the Church was deplorable. The highest ecclesiastical offices were sold to the highest bidder, and in 1046 there were three rivals contending for the papal chair. Henry III. deposed all three, and secured the election of his friend, the bishop of Bamberg, but in 1058, soon after his death, there was another quarrel. Two factions each elected a pope, and the

dispute was decided by force. In the same way there was intrigue, warfare, or both, almost every time a rich bishopric or abbacy became vacant. With leaders chosen under such circumstances it is not surprising that the lower clergy were ignorant and corrupt. A certain amount of learning was still found in the monasteries, but there had been retrogression rather than progress since the days of Charlemagne, and accompanying ignorance and corruption there was vice.

As happens invariably in human society there was a reaction against this condition of affairs. The reform movement had its origin and centre in France in the Benedictine monastery of Cluny, and under the leadership of the Cluniacs the evils were successfully attacked. In 1046 a synod declared against simony, which in the following year was declared to be heresy, and the Emperor ordered all his prelates to put an end to it.

Henry IV. was only a child when he became king in October, 1056, and the country was ruled by his mother Agnes, who was assisted for about a year by Pope Victor II. In the hope of securing peace, the Pope restored to the rebels of the late reign, Baldwin of Flanders and Godfrey of Lorraine, their lands and honours; while Conrad, the deposed duke of Bavaria, received Carinthia instead of his former duchy. After Victor's departure for Italy, however, Agnes was not equal to her task; feuds and fightings were general, while the interference of a German army in Hungary was a failure.

The Empress had aroused the hostility of many prelates, and under Anno, archbishop of Cologne, some clerics and laymen successfully planned her downfall. The young king was persuaded to step into a boat lying in the Rhine near Kaiserwerth; when this was loosed, divining the plot, he sprang into the water, but he was seized and carried to Cologne. He was now in the power

of Anno and his associates, and Agnes, feeling herself worsted, left the stage.

It was in 1062 that Anno became supreme, but very soon he, in his turn, was superseded. Adalbert of Bremen forced himself into prominence, and quickly began to share with Anno the duties of regent. Then, not content with this, he took advantage of his colleague's absence in Italy, and, during the few remaining years of Henry's minority, was the real ruler of Germany. He was a stout guardian of the country's interests, although he was continually using his power to strengthen his own position in Bremen, and his chief exploit was the restoration of German influence in Hungary. He succeeded in raising Henry's brother-in-law, Salomo, to the throne of that country, the new king acknowledging in return the supremacy of the German king, without whose aid, indeed, his position would be most precarious.

In 1065 Henry attained his majority. For about a year Adalbert remained at the head of affairs, but he had made many enemies, and his fall was at hand. In Saxony he exercised the power of a duke, a course of action which further estranged him from the Billung family who held that position, and he attacked the privileges of the great religious houses. When Henry held his court at Tribur in 1066, his foes demanded his removal. The king assented, and the archbishop returned to Saxony, where his enemies were not slow to take advantage of his misfortune. He was forcibly deprived of the greater part of his lands, while for those he kept he must own himself the vassal of the Saxon duke.

Concurrently with this there was a revival of energy among the Slavs. Hamburg was destroyed, the Christian bishops were driven from Brandenburg and other sees, and, in spite of an expedition which the king led against



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THE CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES AT COLOGNE.

A fine example of the best Romanesque work in Germany.

them in 1069, the people beyond the Elbe regained complete independence. There was turmoil in Thuringia, where the people refused to pay tithes to the archbishop of Mainz, but Henry supported the latter, and they were forced to submit.

Henry IV. had a masterful nature, and was determined to be king in fact as well as in name. It is, therefore, not surprising that he made many enemies in Saxony, a country where the great men were unaccustomed to interference; and among these was one, Otto of Nordheim, a Saxon, who had been appointed duke of Bavaria, and who had been active in compassing Archbishop Adalbert's fall. The king demanded the return of land which had belonged to his predecessors, but had subsequently been seized by the nobles, a step which, if legally right, was, in practice, unwise. He built forts which he garrisoned with Swabian soldiers, who plundered the surrounding country; and in other ways he irritated all classes. The crisis came in 1073. The order went out that the king's vassals should join the royal standard. A campaign against the Slavs was contemplated, but the Saxon nobles feared that the army would be used against them, and refused to join. Instead, they held a gathering at Wormsleben, where, according to the chronicler, Otto of Nordheim, delivered a stirring speech, in the style of Agricola to his Romans, and of Bruce to his Scots. He urged them to march against their king, and they eagerly supported the banner of revolt. The Thuringians, incensed by the compulsion of the tithes, joined them, and Henry, surprised in his fortress at the Harzburg, just managed to escape. In spite of great efforts he failed to secure adequate assistance for the task of crushing the rebellion, and in 1074 he granted the demands of the Saxons. According to the terms of peace, the hated forts were to be destroyed, and not only did the people

do this with great good-will, but in their zeal they desecrated churches and the tombs of the Saxon dukes. The king lost no time in persuading the princes of the Rhineland to afford him assistance, and, after he had blooded his army by leading it into Hungary, he turned it, in 1075, against the Saxons, whose recent actions he regarded as a violation of the peace. In June he defeated the rebels collected by Otto of Nordheim near Langensalza, and in 1076 they surrendered unconditionally. The forts were rebuilt, and Otto was pardoned and made the royal representative in the land.

In the midst of this warfare Gregory VII., known generally as Hildebrand, was chosen Pope. The ablest and most active ecclesiastical reformer of his age, he lost no time in making his influence felt. He forbade the marriage of the clergy, and by another decree he inaugurated the famous controversy about investiture. At this time a large part of the land in Germany, as, indeed, in England and France, was held by prelates who did homage for it to their king, and who, in the same way as laymen, fulfilled the duties of vassals. To Hildebrand this appeared entirely wrong. The clergy, he asserted, were only responsible to their ecclesiastical superiors, and not to any secular authority, and they ought not to bind themselves to discharge any duties except those which they owed to the Church and the Pope. Consequently, in 1075, he issued a decree forbidding any layman to invest any cleric with land. This did not mean, far from it, that prelates must not hold land; it meant that they were to be free from the usual obligations of the vassal to his lord. To this order it was impossible for any sovereign to submit if he wished to preserve his throne. Henry certainly had no intention of accepting it, and the quarrel between him and Hildebrand blazed out with sudden ferocity. The Pope

commanded the king to do penance for his crimes, and in return the king called to Worms the German bishops, who pronounced the deposition of the Pope. This was answered by a papal bull, in which Gregory declared Henry excommunicate and dethroned, and his subjects released from their allegiance.

This war of words soon changed to one of deeds. The papal bull had not been without effect. The rule of Henry was not liked by many German princes, and these now saw their opportunity. As before, Otto of Nordheim was prominent among the malcontents, and Saxony, to which country the Pope had sent his minions to preach against the king, was the centre of the rebellion. Henry was almost isolated, and after a fruitless campaign in Saxony was compelled to yield. The princes met at Tribur, and entered into negotiations with him, the result of which was that he promised to submit to Gregory. Beyond this they agreed that their case against him should be decided by the Pope, and that if, within a year and a day, the sentence of excommunication was not removed, the throne should be declared vacant.

Henry's next move was truly dramatic. Having gauged the strength of his foes, he decided that it would be suicidal to fight, and preferred to humble himself before Gregory. The Pope was staying at the castle of Canossa, not far from Bologna, and thither the king travelled in January, 1077. At first Gregory refused to see him, but he waited for three days, and was then admitted. He submitted to the Pope, who absolved him, and who, moreover, undertook to support him against his German foes. It is not surprising that this incident at Canossa profoundly impressed the imagination of the Christian world by visualizing, as it were, the awful powers wielded by the Church over the mightiest, and thus it won a fictitious importance. Legendary

accretions gathered around the bare truth, and the wondering people pictured the greatest of European monarchs in the dress of a penitent standing for three whole days in the snow before being allowed to bow before his judge. Although not quite so humiliating as this, it did, indeed, mark the highest point ever reached by the papal power.

Henry had appeased the Pope, but he had enraged his German enemies more than ever. The princes met together in March, 1077, and declared him deposed, choosing in his stead Rudolph, duke of Swabia. Henry was not without adherents, mainly in Bavaria and the cities of the Rhine, while Rudolph found them in Saxony and his own Swabia. In Saxony Otto of Nordheim defeated the royal army in three battles, and in March, 1080, Gregory again ranged himself among the king's foes, and again excommunicated him. But the fortune of war changed when Rudolph was killed in October, 1080, and Henry carried his arms into Italy. The struggle in that country does not concern us here, but we may remark that he had the satisfaction of seeing Hildebrand a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, and of being crowned Emperor in 1084 by Clement III., an anti-pope of his own making.

In Germany the rebels found a successor to Rudolph in Hermann, count of Luxemburg, but their forces were weakened in 1083 by the death of Otto of Nordheim, and soon the rebellion was confined to Saxony. Then, after Hermann had abandoned the contest, and a third anti-king, Ekbert of Meissen, had been murdered, there was a short period of peace. The Saxons were treated with much consideration, and gradually their resentment against Henry died down. He, however, had not finished with insurrections. The investiture quarrel was still unsettled, and the followers of Hildebrand bore him an



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WORMS CATHEDRAL.

A great Romanesque church built between A.D. 1100 and 1200. There are side-chapels dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

implacable hatred. Taking advantage of some discord in the royal family, they persuaded his son Conrad to desert his father, and to be crowned king of Italy in 1093. Six years before he had been crowned German king, but this was at his father's instigation, not, like the other, an act of defiance. Henry passed some years in Italy, trying feebly to retrieve his position, but his cause was hopeless, and in 1097, having lost all authority therein, he returned to Germany. Here he found his friends, not his foes, in the ascendant, and among them was his old enemy Welf, now restored to the position of duke of Bavaria. In 1098, at a diet at Mainz, Conrad was deposed, and his younger brother, Henry, afterwards the Emperor Henry V., was chosen German king, and designated as his father's successor.

This was the time of the first crusade, which attracted the restless and the warlike, and for a few years there was less disorder in Germany than heretofore. Henry made good use of this interval to restore his authority, and he conducted a successful campaign in Flanders. Soon, however, another blow fell. His son Henry, encouraged by the papal party, declared that he could not obey an excommunicated parent, and was soon at the head of a body of rebels, recruited mainly in Saxony and Thuringia, and backed by most of the German bishops. Old and infirm, the Emperor was worsted in the fighting which took place, and through treachery fell into the hands of his enemies. In December, 1105, he was compelled to abdicate, but he refused to accept the sentence as final, and made his escape from captivity. He was collecting an army, and arranging for help from England and France, when he died in August, 1106.

The election of Henry V. was little more than a formality, and then, those who had taken up arms for Henry IV. having submitted, he made an effort to restore the in-

fluence of Germany in the east. He interfered in Bohemia in 1107, composed the differences between two rivals, and brought that land to a slight extent under his power; but he was not equally successful in Hungary, where, failing to take Pressburg, he must perforce retreat. In 1109 he proved his inability to compel the Poles to renew the payment of tribute, and a second campaign in Bohemia did not end that country's civil strife. Before this the king had humbled the rebellious count of Flanders, Robert II., and had been betrothed to Matilda, a daughter of the English king, Henry I., whom he married in January, 1114.

During these years the investiture controversy remained unsettled, at least in Germany. In England, as readers of English history will remember, it had been ended, after the exile of St. Anselm, by a surrender on the part of Henry I., and elsewhere the balance of victory was with the Pope. In Germany Pope Paschal II., who had stirred up Henry V. against his father, hoped to find him pliant, but in truth it was quite otherwise. The new king, like his predecessors, invested bishops and abbots with the ring and the staff, the symbols of their temporal power, while the Pope renewed the prohibition against investiture by laymen.

In 1110 Henry went to Italy, and in 1111 he concluded a treaty with the Pope. By this he renounced the right of investiture. In return the Pope promised to crown him Emperor, to secure the restoration by the German church of all the crown lands it had received since the time of Charlemagne, and to use his authority to induce the German prelates to accept the treaty. It was impossible, however, to carry out this arrangement. It aroused the fierce hostility of the German prelates, who were to be deprived of most of their land, and with this of their temporal power, while laymen could not view

such a sweeping change without apprehension. The sequel was a riot in St. Peter's itself. King and Pope assembled for the coronation and the ratification of the treaty, but the reading of the latter produced an uproar. Paschal refused to crown Henry, and Henry refused to surrender the right of investiture. The Pope was seized by the German soldiery, and remained a prisoner until, failing to secure help, he promised to crown his captor, and to allow him the right of investing the prelates. The coronation ceremony accordingly took place in April, 1111.

Returning to Germany, the Emperor wanted friends and supporters, and, by granting privileges and removing burdens, he secured them. This help was soon needed. There was in Saxony a powerful noble, Lothair, count of Supplinburg, who embodied the Saxon idea of independence, and who had also influence with the Slavonic tribes. In 1112, and again in 1113, he headed a rising, but on both occasions he was defeated, although he was too strong to be deprived of his authority. The next rebellion was somewhat more serious. Aggrieved by some suspicion of treachery, the citizens of Cologne revolted, and were joined by malcontents from Saxony and Lorraine. The Emperor was unable to capture Cologne, and his troops were beaten at Welfesholz. After these rebuffs some prelates began to desert him, and the supporters of the Pope to regain confidence. In the midst of these disorders Henry was called to Italy, and left his kingdom to the care of his nephews, the Hohenstaufen brothers, Frederick and Conrad, and to Welf of Bavaria, men who were supreme in South Germany, but who had little or no authority in the north.

In 1116 the Emperor arrived in Italy. He had been excommunicated, and the quarrel between the Pope and himself was renewed; but no decisive result had been

reached when the latter returned to Germany in 1118. He found that Frederick of Hohenstaufen had manfully upheld his authority in the Rhineland, but that in Saxony his deposition was being discussed. However, having declared a general peace at Tribur, he soon bettered his position. Cologne submitted, the Saxon nobles were foiled in an attempted rising, and a peace congress, held at Würzburg, ordered all lands seized during the recent disturbances to be restored.

But the process of healing could not be complete while the investiture question remained an open sore. Suggestions for peace had been made at Würzburg, and negotiations were continued at Worms. The result was the Concordat of Worms, a compromise signed in September, 1122, which ended the controversy. By this the Emperor gave up the right of investing prelates with the ring and the staff, allowed to the clergy freedom to elect their rulers, and promised to restore all church lands. In return, elections to bishoprics and abbacies were to take place in the presence of the Emperor or of his representatives, and he retained the right of investing prelates with the sceptre, a symbol that they held their estates from him.

The Emperor's remaining years were occupied with a campaign into Holland and a dispute over the succession to Meissen, a mark district on the Lower Elbe. In both these his enemies were aided by Lothair of Supplinburg. In 1124, to assist Henry of England, he led an expedition into France, and about the same time he reduced the citizens of Worms to obedience. He died childless in May, 1125, and with him ended the line of Franconian or Salian Emperors. The heir of the dead Emperor was his nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and he was a candidate for the throne when, in 1125, the princes met to choose a king. The clergy, however,

and especially Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz, an enemy of Henry V., were very hostile to Frederick, and their influence secured the throne for Lothair of Supplinburg, who had so often resisted the dead Emperor.

It is not surprising that the relations between the new king and the Hohenstaufen family were not friendly, and they were not improved when Lothair requested Frederick to hand over the lands which Henry V. had left to him. Lothair regarded these as belonging to the crown, and not as private property, but whether or not this opinion was correct, Frederick refused to surrender them, and was declared guilty of treason. Before, however, it came to actual fighting, Lothair had accepted an invitation to interfere in Bohemia, and in 1126 had met with a serious defeat. This weakened his prestige, and when he attacked Frederick he was unable to capture his stronghold, Nuremberg. The war soon became general. Lothair gained two powerful allies; Henry of Bavaria, who married his daughter Gertrude, and Conrad of Zähringen, while, by the other side, Conrad of Hohenstaufen was chosen German king. The victory, however, rested with Lothair, who succeeded in capturing the principal strongholds of his foe. A notable event about this time was the extension of German and Christian influences into Pomerania, then part of Poland. The moving spirit in this was Otto, bishop of Bamberg, and in a few years over 20,000 Pomeranians are said to have been baptized.

The Hohenstaufen brothers had not submitted, but the back of their resistance had been broken, and 1130 is regarded as the turning-point in Lothair's reign. In 1131 he marched into Denmark, and without any fighting, King Niels consented to pay tribute. In September, 1132, he journeyed to Italy, and was crowned Emperor; and when he returned to Germany he was in a better

position to deal with the risings which had broken out in Saxony and Bavaria. With the aid of Henry of Bavaria, Lothair devastated Swabia, the duchy of the Hohenstaufen family, and soon the brothers were ready for peace. First Frederick and then Conrad submitted. They were allowed to keep their lands, and in 1135 they and a number of princes swore at Bamberg to keep the peace for ten years. About this time a war was raging between Bohemia and Poland, each supporting a candidate for the throne of Hungary. In 1134 ambassadors from the three countries appeared before Lothair, and a little later the Polish duke in most emphatic fashion declared himself his vassal. The Emperor then arranged a truce between the belligerents, and at this time, as the historian of the period says: "The imperial authority in the East had not for more than a century had the position which it held in these days."

In another direction the Emperor won glory and authority. For about a hundred and fifty years little had been done to carry on the work of Otto the Great in extending the influence of Christianity in the district between the Elbe and the Oder. But now this was renewed. Before becoming king, Lothair had fought against his Slavonic neighbours, and had made for himself a reputation among them. About 1134 he made one of his friends, Albert, called the Bear, count of Ballenstädt, ruler of the north mark of Saxony. Away to the south Conrad, margrave of Meissen and Lusatia, was also fighting the Slavs, while the archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen were making great efforts to extend the power of the Church, the one over Poland and the east, the other over Scandinavia and the north. Leaving Germany at peace, the Emperor went to Italy in 1136, and during the return journey died at a village in Tirol in December, 1137.

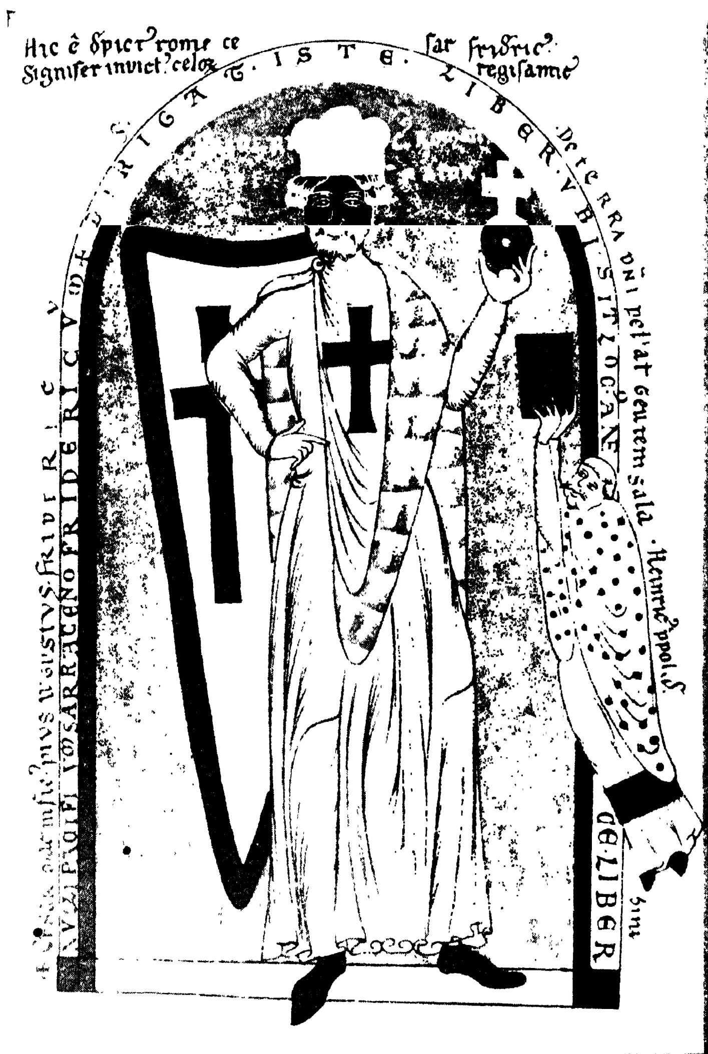
We have already spoken of Lothair's son-in-law, Henry of Bavaria, and how he assisted the German king in his struggle with the Hohenstaufen brothers. Their rivalry is connected with a great feud, which has made for itself a reputation in history, the one between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Henry, who was called the Proud, was descended from a certain Welf, a powerful personage in Bavaria, and his family became known as the Welfs, or, as the Italians called them, the Guelphs. On the other side the Hohenstaufen family, the enemies of the Welfs, were called Ghibellines, possibly because the Sicilian Arabs translated Hohenstaufen by Gibello, possibly because the name of their castle, Waiblingen, was corrupted into Ghibelline, or possibly for some reason unknown to us. A popular story tells how, in 1140, when the two families and their retainers, like our English Percys and Nevilles, were fighting around the little town of Weinsberg, one party raised the cry "Hie Welf!" to which the others answered with "Hie Waiblingen!" These battle-cries took root and were carried into Italy, where they persisted long after their origin was forgotten.

CHAPTER VII

THE EARLY HOHENSTAUFEN KINGS

THIS rivalry of Welf and Waiblingen was at its height when Lothair died. Henry was duke of Bavaria, and, on the death of the Emperor, became duke of Saxony, while Frederick of Hohenstaufen was duke of Swabia. It is not surprising that each party tried to secure the vacant throne, although the Hohenstaufen candidate was not Frederick, but his younger brother Conrad. Henry seemed the stronger, but perhaps for this very reason he was suspected by the princes. At all events, he was fiercely opposed by one or two of the great prelates, and in March, 1138, Conrad, who had already been chosen king in opposition to Lothair in 1127, was elected in a hasty and irregular fashion, several of the electors knowing nothing of the event until it was over. Some of the princes did homage to the new king, but Henry the Proud refused because Conrad would not consent to one person ruling the two duchies of Saxony and Bavaria. These differences were not composed, and soon Henry was declared a traitor. Saxony was given to Albert the Bear, and Bavaria to the margrave of Austria.

It was not so easy, however, to deprive Henry of his duchies, as the ensuing civil war proved. In vain Albert tried to make good his new position. Before Henry the Proud died suddenly in October, 1139, he had driven



FREDERICK BARBAROSSA AS A CRUSADER.

A miniature from a manuscript of 1188 in the Vatican Library at Rome.

out his rival, and Conrad's efforts to succour his protégé had come to nought. After Henry's death the war was conducted in Saxony by his young son Henry, called the Lion, who was recognized as duke of that land, and in Bavaria by his brother Welf. Soon both sides were willing to make peace, and in May, 1142, conditions were agreed upon. Henry retained Saxony, but surrendered Bavaria. In 1142 Conrad led an army into Bohemia and restored his brother-in-law, Ladislaus, to the throne, almost the only success of his reign. In 1146 he failed in his efforts to perform the same service for an exiled Polish duke.

In Germany itself the civil war, or rather several civil wars, were soon renewed. The disorder was increased by a war between the Bavarians and the Hungarians, and amid it all Conrad seemed impotent. Relief, however, came from another quarter. Owing to the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, many disturbers of the peace went on crusade, and in 1147 the king himself set out for Palestine. He was absent for about two years, and when he returned he found the Welfs again in rebellion, and Henry the Lion, who had gained fame as a warrior, claiming Bavaria. Nothing, or next to nothing, had been done to restore peace when the king died in February, 1152.

Less than a month after the death of Conrad, his nephew Frederick was crowned German king at Aix-la-Chapelle. The foremost living representative of the Hohenstaufen family, he was also related to their rivals the Welfs, and this fact, together with his personal qualities, made him the most powerful, as well as the most desirable, candidate for the vacant throne.

Barbarossa, as Frederick I. was called by the Italians, on account of the redness of his beard, is one of the heroes of the Middle Ages. His strong and attractive

personality made a deep impression on his contemporaries, and consequently he lives in history as a man of flesh and blood, far more real than any of the Henrys or the Conrads who preceded him. The greatest ruler that Europe had seen since the time of Charlemagne, he is said to have made that sovereign his model, and in the vigour and resource with which he carried out his great ideas, he was not unworthy of the Frankish Emperor. He brought peace to Germany, where he was soon recognized as a just and able ruler. In one direction, however, Frederick's rule was not beneficial to Germany, although the ill-effects of his policy were not really felt until after his death. The land was drained of men and money in order that he might carry on in Italy his quarrel with the Papacy. Six times, followed by the bravest of the German soldiers, he made expeditions to that country, and not one of these brought the slightest benefit to his native land.

It will be remembered that towards the close of the last reign Henry the Lion, a member of the family of Welf and an ancestor of the English royal family, had claimed Bavaria, over which his father, Henry the Proud, had ruled, but which, after his death, had been given to a certain Henry called Jasomirgott, from an oath which was constantly on his lips. Almost the first duty of the new king was to deal with this dispute. It is not surprising that Henry refused to give up Bavaria, and, although a court of princes decided against him, he remained the man in possession, while Frederick restored order in Burgundy, and made his first journey to Italy, being crowned Emperor in June, 1155. Returning to Germany, he set to work to crush the various rebels who had troubled the land during his absence. In the Rhineland, from the mouth of the river right up to Swabia, he made his authority respected, and then he

settled the old dispute over Bavaria. Henry Jasomirgott agreed to give up the duchy, and, in return, Austria, which he also ruled, was made a duchy, and given certain privileges, which secured for it an exceptional position among the German states.

It was not in Germany alone that Frederick's name was respected. Denmark and Hungary owned his authority, and in 1157 an expedition into Poland brought Duke Boleslaus to his knees. Bohemia and Burgundy were more thoroughly incorporated with his empire, and in 1157 he held a splendid diet at Würzburg, which was attended by ambassadors from England, Denmark, and Hungary, from Constantinople, and from many Italian princes. Before this meeting, however, the Emperor had begun his preparations for his second journey to Italy, and he was away from Germany from the middle of 1158 until September, 1162. When he returned two matters claimed his especial attention.

Although Henry the Lion had obtained the duchy of Bavaria, he passed most of his time in Saxony, where he did a great work for Germany. Since the death of Otto the Great, the Slavonic lands between the Elbe and the Oder had only been to a slight and varying extent under German rule. They were like the *hinterland* of some of our African possessions in the past, vaguely under British protection, but not in any real sense subject to British rule and law. Henry took up the work of conquest, and his success was a permanent and not a transient one. He built towns, founded or restored bishoprics, and placed colonists from Flanders and elsewhere in the land. The conflict between German and Slav is acute to-day in some parts of the German Empire, but, thanks to Henry the Lion, it is not so in the district between the Elbe and the Oder. Away to the south of Saxony Albert the Bear was doing a similar work, and was

bringing settlers from Holland and Flanders into his mark of Brandenburg, a district he had conquered from the Slavs.

This work was being carried on when Frederick returned to Germany in 1162. The Slavonic tribes, chief among which were the Abotrites, had not offered a very formidable resistance to Henry the Lion, but he had incurred the enmity of a powerful group of German princes, among them Albert the Bear and Henry of Austria. The authority of the Emperor, however, was strong enough to prevent a conflict. He turned then to Mainz, where Archbishop Arnold had collected a war tax, and had consequently called forth a rebellion during which he was murdered. To avenge this outrage, Frederick deprived the citizens of their privileges, and destroyed the walls of their city.

Returning from his third Italian expedition in 1164, the Emperor found, as before, one or two rebellious spirits disturbing the land. The most serious risings were in Swabia, where a small civil war was in progress, and in the Rhineland, where the Count Palatine and the archbishop of Cologne were at loggerheads. The suppression of these did not seriously tax Frederick's strength, and he was soon able to give his attention to a more important matter. In Italy he had entered upon a serious quarrel with Pope Alexander III.; in March, 1160 he had been excommunicated, and he had replied to this by supporting in succession two anti-popes, Victor IV. and Paschal III. He persuaded Henry II. of England, then in the midst of his quarrel with Becket, to support Paschal, and in May, 1165, he held a diet at Würzburg, where many prelates swore fealty to the anti-pope. Others, however, refused, and a schism in the German church resulted. One or two of the most powerful prelates forcibly resisted the Emperor's orders. One of these,




Dr. Stoedtner.

THE EFFIGIES OF HENRY THE LION, DUKE OF SAXONY AND BAVARIA (1129-95), AND HIS WIFE.

Henry was leader of the Guelphs, and was the founder of Munich.

the archbishop of Mainz, was deposed, and there were disturbances in other dioceses.

In March, 1168, Frederick returned again from Italy. His army had been destroyed by a sudden pestilence, his enemies were forming a powerful league against him, and he himself reached Germany as a fugitive. Here he remained for six years, maintaining and restoring the peace, in most cases without resorting to force. Again he saved Henry the Lion from his foes. He decided a dispute over the succession to the archbishopric of Bremen, and a year or two later he put an end to some disorder which had troubled the diocese of Salzburg. Meanwhile, Henry the Lion had carried on a war with Waldemar of Denmark, had brought the duke of Pomerania under his control, and had spread Christianity in that duchy, and also in Mecklenburg, so that the chronicler Helmold could say that this district had now become " a dependent Saxon colony, wherein towns and forts were built and wherein churches and priests increased in number." Over Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary the Emperor again successfully asserted his authority, and in the domain of foreign politics he entered into friendly relations with the Emperor Manuel at Constantinople and with the Republic of Venice, and made overtures to the kings of England and France.

Germany was at peace when, in 1174, Frederick started for his fifth and most fateful expedition to Italy. His total defeat at Legnano in May, 1176, made it necessary for him to beg peace from Pope Alexander. In August, 1177, he signed the Treaty of Venice, and a month later he knelt before the Pope in St. Mark's and kissed his feet, on a spot now marked by a stone slab. This being done, he returned to Germany, and it is perhaps the greatest tribute to his power in that land that, in spite of his humiliation in Italy, his authority therein was absolutely unshaken.

When setting out for this expedition, the Emperor had, as usual, summoned his vassals to join him. On this occasion Henry the Lion had refused, and he had declined to send help when Frederick was collecting more forces for the battle of Legnano. Rightly or wrongly, the latter ascribed his defeat to the defection of the Saxon duke. Moreover, Henry was getting too strong, and was more a sovereign than a subject, and the Emperor was firmly resolved to reduce him to a more humble position. For refusing to restore some lands to the bishop of Halberstadt, he was summoned before the diet. Four times he refused to appear, and at length, in 1180, he was sentenced to lose his lands and to banishment. It was a heavy sentence, but the astonishing fact is that it was carried out without serious opposition. Henry made a show of resistance, but when Frederick appeared in Saxony, his rebellion collapsed. Peace was made in 1181, and Henry was allowed to keep Brunswick and Lüneburg, a small part of one of his two duchies.

Saxony and Bavaria were now in the Emperor's hands. Saxony was completely broken up. The western part was given to the archbishop of Cologne, a much smaller section, which retained the name of Saxony, to Bernard, son of Albert the Bear, the ancestor of a new line of Saxon dukes, and in the remainder a number of princes, bishops, counts and the rest were made independent of any authority except that of the Emperor. Bavaria was divided into two sections: Bavaria proper, granted to Otto of Wittelsbach, the ancestor of its present king, and Styria, now made a separate duchy.

Having avenged his wrongs and reduced his strongest foe to impotence, Frederick went again to Italy in 1184, leaving his son Henry, afterwards the Emperor Henry VI., as regent in Germany. A good deal of disorder followed his departure. Two rivals were struggling for the

possession of the archbishopric of Mainz, and on the other side of the land the king of Poland was causing uneasiness. More serious, however, was the revolt of Philip of Heinsberg, archbishop of Cologne, who had



THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

received much of the lands of Henry the Lion. He secured promises of assistance from foreign sovereigns, and from many German bishops and princes. Moreover, he was in alliance with the Pope and with the Emperor's

Italian enemies. History, however, repeated itself. As soon as Frederick appeared in Germany, the combination, formidable on paper, broke in pieces, and in March, 1188, the archbishop submitted at Mainz. The Emperor's foes had now all vanished, and although he was sixty-five years of age he decided to go on crusade. A great army was collected, and in May, 1189, he led it from Regensburg; but little more than a year later the report reached Germany that the great Barbarossa was dead. It was true, as on June 10, 1190, he had been drowned in Cilicia. Carlyle, who calls him "a magnificent, magnanimous man," says he was "a terror to evil-doers and a praise to well-doers in this world, probably beyond what was ever seen since."

The German crown, as all know, was an elective one, and for the past two centuries or thereabouts several of the Emperors had made a practice of securing the election of a son, usually the eldest, as his father's colleague and successor. The idea was borrowed from the Roman Empire, in which an Emperor frequently associated a son or other relative with himself in the government, and in England, it will be remembered, Henry II. attempted a similar plan in the case of his son and namesake. The scheme had two great advantages, although one was personal rather than national. It tended to substitute hereditary right for election, and had it not been for several unusual circumstances, the German crown would, like those of France and England, have become one descending without question from father to son. Secondly, it was a business partnership, at a time when the work of government was far more the direct work of the ruler than it is to-day. The senior partner, as it were, took in a junior partner to assist him. This junior partner was usually his son, and so, to continue the simile, the business was kept in the family,

while the elder partner was relieved of some of his responsibilities. It was also the custom for the senior partner, who retained the sonorous title of Emperor, to hand over his other title, that of German King, to his younger colleague, much as in England to-day the eldest son of a duke bears his father's second title, marquis or earl, as the case may be.

Frederick I. had secured the election of his son Henry as German King in 1169, and the two ruled together until the former's death. Then Henry became sole king, and a year later (April, 1191) he was crowned Emperor as Henry VI. From the time when his father left Germany for Palestine his troubles began. Ignoring his oath to stay away from Germany, Henry the Lion had returned as soon as he heard of Frederick's departure, and in Holstein a small war was in progress. The banished duke found many adherents. He took town after town, while Henry, anxious to go to Sicily, which kingdom had just come to him through his wife Constance, thought only of making peace. Accordingly, Henry was allowed to remain in Germany, giving as hostages two of his sons to the king.

Henry went to Sicily and returned, only to find matters more serious than before. Germany generally was in a state of disorder, but amid it all main risings can be distinguished. The first was led by Henry the Lion, and he was joined by several princes, who had hitherto supported the Emperor, and by Canute VI., king of Denmark. The second was in the Rhineland, where the Emperor found several wealthy bishoprics vacant. To these he appointed his own friends, without attempting to conciliate powerful local interests. In November, 1192, a certain Albert, who had been chosen bishop of Liège against Henry's wish, was murdered by some German knights, and the Emperor was accused of having in-

stigated the deed. His enemies increased in number, and among them were King Ottocar I. of Bohemia, the rulers of Brabant and Flanders, and the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. When to this formidable list the name of the Pope is added, it will be seen that Henry was in a perilous position.

He was saved by a stroke of luck. All children know how our English king, Richard Lion-Heart, was seized by Leopold of Austria and handed over, or rather sold, to Henry VI. Richard was brother-in-law to Henry the Lion, and was on friendly terms with some of the Emperor's foes. Consequently, these hesitated lest their campaign of rebellion should jeopardize the life of their friend. Henry made excellent use of the English king's misfortune. One by one his foes came to terms, and early in 1194 peace was made with the last and strongest of them, Henry the Lion.

Henry only reigned a further three years, the greater part of which he passed in Italy and Sicily, where he died in September, 1197. He was, however, in Germany for a few months in 1195 and 1196, and during that time he made the suggestion to the princes that the throne should be made hereditary in his family, that of Hohenstaufen, and in 1196, at Würzburg, after concessions to individuals, many of them consented to this plan. Some, however, opposed it, and a number disliked the connection between Germany and Sicily. However, it seems likely that, but for the Emperor's sudden death, the project would have been successful.

Henry's son was called Frederick after his grandfather, and became later his rival in fame, the gifted Frederick II. At present, however, he was only three years old, and although he had been chosen and crowned German king in 1196, a powerful group of princes refused to have an infant as their sovereign, and one, moreover, who was

also king of Sicily. Henry VI. had tried strenuously to secure the union of Germany and Sicily, but after his death the arguments against this course prevailed. Consequently, the princes looked for another king; they wanted a man, not a child, and one, moreover, whose only interests were in their own land. They found him in Philip, duke of Swabia, a brother of Henry VI., who was chosen in March, 1198. The fact that he was the guardian of Frederick does not appear to have prevented him from accepting the throne.

We have already spoken of the rivalry between Welf and Hohenstaufen. Little had been heard of this under Barbarossa, but it was now to become active again. Philip of Swabia was not the king of the nation; he was merely the nominee of a section of princes. The Welfs, by which we mean all those who supported the family of Henry the Lion, realized this: if Frederick was set aside and the electors free to make another choice, was not a Welf as suitable as any? Accordingly this party put forward Otto of Brunswick, a son of Henry the Lion, and he was chosen three months after Philip's election.

The rivals were both crowned, and a trial of strength was inevitable. Philip found support mainly in the south and east, especially in Swabia, the home of his house; Otto was chiefly backed by the nobles and people of Saxony and the north-west. For eight years civil war desolated the country, or, at least, parts of it. At first Philip gained the upper hand, and by 1200 his success seemed assured, Otto being confined to Brunswick and its immediate neighbourhood. But the tide was turned by the efforts of Pope Innocent III., who had hitherto remained neutral but watchful. Two events offended him, and caused him to declare definitely for Otto. One was a declaration made at Spires by many German princes that Philip was their lawful king and that

Innocent, who had offered to decide between the claimants, had no right to interfere; the other was the action of Philip himself in recognizing as archbishop of Mainz a candidate who had only received a minority of votes, instead of the one lawfully elected. About the same time Ottocar of Bohemia deserted Philip, and, while attempting to take Brunswick, the Hohenstaufen party met with a serious reverse. The Pope did his best for his protégé, and for a time was successful. Philip, and not Otto, was driven back and confined to his own territories, whilst Otto, and not Philip, was, with more or less good-will, recognized as king in the greater part of the land. In 1204, however, the tables were turned again, and Philip experienced a further period of prosperity. In January, 1205, he was crowned for the second time, and in 1207 he entered Cologne, almost the last stronghold of his foes. Soon afterwards he made peace with the Pope, and he was preparing for a final expedition to crush the remains of the rebellion when he was murdered at Bamberg in June, 1208.

This event ended the civil war. The Hohenstaufen party were stunned, while the Welfs were correspondingly elated. Philip's friends failed to find a king strong enough to make good his position, and Otto met the objections of some by submitting to another election, instead of stiffly resting his claim upon the previous and partial one. After the election this feud, like that of York and Lancaster, was ended by a marriage, the king, known as Otto IV., marrying Philip's daughter Beatrix. The Pope returned to the side of Otto, and a general reconciliation took place, the favour of the Papacy being purchased by grants of land.

Otto's short reign was uneventful save for his dispute with Innocent, the excommunicator of John of England. After his coronation in Rome in 1209 the quarrel broke

out; Otto was excommunicated, but he made conquests, and to arrest his victorious career in Italy the Pope stirred up rebellion in Germany. Meeting at Nuremberg the rebels, backed also by Philip Augustus of France, declared Otto deposed and chose Frederick, the rejected of 1198, as his successor. Otto left Italy to fight his rival in Germany, but he lost ground rapidly. However, he raised an army to help John of England against France, but at Bouvines, in July, 1214, he was decisively beaten, and, like the English King, he must yield to his foes. During the four closing years of his reign he was king in name only, having no authority outside Brunswick. He died in May, 1218.

CHAPTER VIII

FREDERICK II. AND THE FIRST HABSBURGS

SOMETIMES, as gardeners know, a flowering plant puts forth its finest bloom just before its death, and there are analogies to this in the history of the human race, among them the case of the Hohenstaufen family. Frederick II. was unquestionably its most gifted member, and he was also its last, or rather the last of any note. For practical purposes the race ended with him, although, as a matter of fact, it did not become extinct until eighteen years after his death.

Chosen king at Frankfort in 1212, Frederick was crowned at Mainz, and after his position had become stronger the ceremony was repeated at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1215. After his coronation as Emperor at Rome in 1220 and his marriage with Yolande of Brienne in 1225, he wore six crowns, although three were titular only. Really he was king of Germany, Sicily, and Burgundy; he was also Emperor, king of the Lombards, and king of Jerusalem, dignities bringing little or no power with them.

For eight years after 1212 Frederick remained in Germany. It was not difficult to deal with Otto IV., whose supporters left him rapidly after Bouvines, but even in this matter he trusted rather to diplomacy than to force. In 1214 he purchased the support of Waldemar of Denmark by giving him some lands north of the Elbe, but his chief concessions were to the German ecclesiastics. In 1213, at Eger, he promised to take no part in the

elections of bishops and abbots, thus giving up an advantage gained in the Concordat of Worms, and to allow freely the right of appeal to Rome; he also surrendered to the Papacy all the lands claimed by it since the death of Henry VI. Seven years later, mainly in order to secure support for the election of his son Henry as king, he gave to the German prelates greater powers over their lands, forbidding the erection of new mints, toll-centres, or towns thereon, in addition to putting into their hands practically all the administration of justice. These concessions show how jealously the holders of land looked upon the growth of the towns. In this new factor in the social order they saw a class of men who would not brook the restraints and burdens borne by those who dwelt beneath the castles of the lords, and they made a determined effort to strangle their rival in infancy. Thee were unsuccessful in the long-run, as the history of thy fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows, but for a short time, owing to the needs of the king, they prevailed.

To turn again to the struggle between the two kings. In 1215 Frederick took possession of Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne, the last strongholds of Otto in the Rhineland, and in 1216 he was occupied in putting down risings in Bavaria, Lorraine, and other parts, and in regulating a disputed election to the archbishopric of Cologne. Soon after Otto's death, Frederick made peace with his brother Henry, count palatine of the Rhine, and received from him the emblems of royalty.

Frederick left Germany for Italy in August, 1220, having just shown his regard for the interests of his house by persuading or bribing the princes, to choose his son Henry as German king, or king of the Romans, as the heir to the throne was now called. The Emperor's policy and proceedings in Italy are only indirectly concerned with German history, but a little should be said about them

in order to make the story clear. The papal policy was, and had been since the marriage of Henry VI. and Constance of Sicily, to keep Sicily and Germany apart, and, after Frederick's death, or, if possible before, to provide each with a separate ruler. Several times the Emperor promised to do this, but his sincerity was doubted by the Pope, especially after 1220, when his son Henry, already recognized as the future king of Sicily, was chosen German king. Again, Frederick had promised to go on crusade, and the Pope, doubtless quite as anxious to rid himself of an ambitious potentate as to recover the Holy Sepulchre for Christendom, was very angry because he would not at once fulfil his vow. Herein were the seeds of the great quarrel which raged until it ended in the destruction of the Hohenstaufen.

During the Emperor's absence of fifteen years Germany was governed by Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, after his murder in 1225 by Louis of Bavaria, and then by King Henry himself. During the years of Engelbert's rule peace prevailed in the land, although this was by no means the peace of modern civilization. In 1224 the archbishop recovered, by a piece of diplomacy, the lands granted to Denmark in 1214, but, owing to some difficulties, it was 1227 before they were actually surrendered. The recovered land included two places soon to become important, Hamburg and Lübeck, and also Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania.

Engelbert's murder was followed by an outbreak of disorder, general throughout Germany, but perhaps especially noticeable in the Rhineland, where there was a contest for the lands of Henry, the dead count palatine, and it continued until Frederick had made, in 1230, the peace of San Germano with Pope Gregory IX.

This peace had been in part the work of the princes who now received their reward. The great privilege of

Worms, sanctioned by the Emperor in 1231, was an extension of the proceedings of 1220. It gave to the princes the most extensive powers in their lands, and it has been summarized as "excluding the royal power from the princely territories, and making the princely power the only one therein" Space forbids us to enumerate its many clauses, but practically the princes became independent sovereigns, while, to make their victory more complete, further restraints were placed upon the development of towns. Henceforward the king had hardly more power over the archbishops, bishops, dukes, and margraves than he had over the king of Denmark or the king of Hungary. He was merely one ruler among them, and not always even *primus inter pares*.

About this time there were signs of that jealousy between Frederick and his eldest son which a great English historian has called "the incurable bane of royalty." The causes of the trouble are not clearly known, but it seems to have been connected with the relations between Henry and his Austrian wife. The young king wished to divorce her, and to marry a Bohemian princess, and had already made an enemy of her brother, Frederick of Austria. The Emperor was angered by these proceedings; his son seems to have disliked the privileges just granted at Worms, and he refused to attend a diet held at Ravenna. In 1232, however, paternal authority prevailed, and Henry submitted, but his repentance was of brief duration, and in 1234 he took a bolder step. Having issued a manifesto to the princes, he raised the banner of revolt, but secured very little support. In the following year the Emperor arrived in Germany, and, almost without a struggle, Henry submitted at Nuremberg. His seven remaining years were spent as a prisoner, first in Germany and later in Italy.

Frederick then held a magnificent diet at Mainz, where

he celebrated his third marriage, the one with Isabella, daughter of John of England. Here was issued a "land peace," as orders for the general enforcement of peace were called. Many of these had been issued from time to time, and proclaimed in churches and other public places they served to remind a people ignorant of reading that disturbers of the peace would be punished. This one is of special importance, however, because it is the model on which all later ones were framed. It declared private war to be unlawful, except—and the proviso throws a bright light on the conditions of the time—when justice could not be obtained, mentions the appointment of a chief justiciar, and other measures for the preservation of peace.

At this time a reconciliation was made with the Welfs, and Otto, the son of Otto IV., became duke of Brunswick; and then, before returning to Italy, Frederick paid off a score against the duke of Austria. At the head of an army he had little difficulty in seizing Vienna, in temporarily depriving the duke of his duchy, and in taking from him the special privileges which his race had enjoyed since 1156. But this victory had no permanent results, and as soon as the Emperor had departed the duke returned, and ruled his lands until his death in 1246. With him the family of Babenberg, who had been dukes of Austria for three centuries, became extinct. While in Vienna, Frederick secured the election of his second son Conrad as king of the Romans and future Emperor; then, leaving Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, as regent, he journeyed to Italy in 1237 to renew his struggle with the Papacy, the last round of the great fight.

This renewed, it is not surprising that the Pope, in accordance with many precedents, attempted to create difficulties for Frederick in Germany. At first the papal agents met with little success, but in 1239 something

more worthy of the name of a revolt was organized, its main adherents being the king of Bohemia and the dukes of Austria and Bavaria. They were unable, however, to find anyone daring enough to accept the position of king in opposition to the Emperor, and the conspiracy came to nought. An inroad of Mongols turned their attention for a time to more serious matters, and, led by Wenceslaus of Bohemia, the princes drove these invaders from their land. This success achieved, the Pope's entreaties were again considered, and Siegfried of Mainz and the two other powerful archbishops, Trier and Cologne, deserted Frederick's cause. To meet this danger the Emperor turned to the towns, hitherto despised and oppressed by him, and by granting to them many privileges he gained their support. Civil war, however, could not be averted, and it raged especially along the Rhine.

The election of a new Pope, Innocent IV., in 1243, gave a fresh turn to the struggle. Encouraged by him a prince was found brave enough to take upon himself the position of rival king, and thus to become a definite antagonist to Frederick, who had been declared deposed at the Council of Lyons in 1245. This was the landgrave of Thuringia, Henry Raspe, who was chosen by some of the princes in 1246, and who is sometimes called the *Pfaffen König*, or parsons' king, owing to the number of ecclesiastics among his supporters.

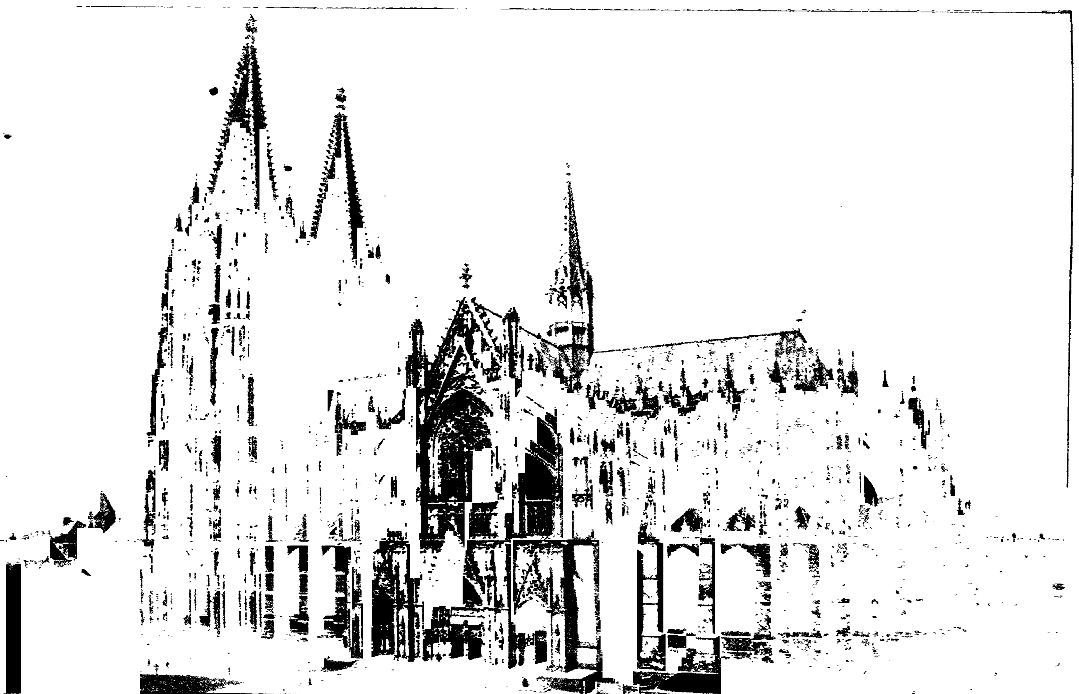
Frederick's son Conrad fought against Henry Raspe, and by marrying a Bavarian princess won over her father, the Bavarian duke. In 1247 Henry Raspe died, but his friends found another anti-king in William, count of Holland, who, however, was as little likely to secure the united support of the German people as his predecessor had been. Supported by the townsmen of Swabia and the Rhineland, Conrad managed to hold his own, but the condition of Germany, with an absent Emperor, with

rival armies plundering and destroying, and with no one to call them to account, must be left to the imagination. Better would it have been for the people if one or other combatant had been strong enough to secure a decisive victory and to end the strife. In the midst of this state of affairs came the report from Italy that the Emperor was dead. Deserted and defeated, illness had carried him off in December, 1250.

On hearing the news Conrad set out for Italy. After his departure the cause of William of Holland prospered. Otto of Brunswick joined his standard, and he gained support in Bavaria. Even now, however, he was little more than count of Holland, and over many parts of Germany he made no attempt whatever to assert his authority. In 1256 he was killed while fighting the Frisians.

Another king must now be found. By this time Conrad was dead, and Germany had not even a nominal ruler. As often happens in times of anarchy, the electors could not unite upon a candidate, and two kings were chosen, one being Richard, earl of Cornwall, a brother of the English king, Henry III., and the other Alphonso of Castile, both being related to the Hohenstaufen family. This was indeed making confusion worse confounded. Richard was crowned at Cologne, but Alphonso never appeared in Germany. Present or absent, however, neither had the slightest authority, and the only government in the country was that of the different princes, who ruled exactly as they liked.

During this anarchy one or two important changes were taking place. We have spoken of the policy pursued by Frederick II. with regard to the towns; first crushing and then favouring them, it was a purely opportunist one, but nevertheless they grew more numerous. Surrounded by walls, they were at times the only places where life and



Lévy et ses Fils.

COLOGNE CATHEDRAL.

Begun about 1270 and completed in [illegible]

property were safe, and this, it will easily be seen, added greatly to their importance. Soon they realized that more unity meant more strength, and in 1254 a league of Rhenish towns came into existence. This was recognized by William of Holland, was joined by a number of the smaller princes, anxious for its protection, and made an honourable but fruitless effort to stave off the disaster of the double election of 1257.

We have spoken frequently of the princes, and some may ask who are these princes who have latterly been gaining power at the expense of the king. The great, or immediate, princes were a few great ecclesiastics, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, who by virtue of their official position ruled over extensive lands, and some laymen, the rulers of duchies and counties. They were called "immediate," because they were immediately dependent on the king, unlike a lower class of princes, who had someone mediate, or between them and their sovereign. In plain English they were next, not next but one, to the king.

The tendency was for the immediate princes to increase in number. Either the king gave land to some retainer and made him one, or some great prince died without heirs, and his dependents, hitherto mediate, became immediate princes. It was not, however, until the period of anarchy just described that their number was increased in a third way. Hitherto the lands of laymen, like those of ecclesiastics, had not as a rule been divided when one holder died, principally because they belonged to him in an official, and not in a personal, capacity. His office, just as that of a bishop or an abbot, could not be divided, and therefore the lands which went with it could not. But in the thirteenth century this was a theory only, and it was soon ignored. The result was that the process of division and subdivision went steadily on until Germany

was divided into a bewildering multitude of petty states, and the condition of affairs satirized by eighteenth-century travellers and writers was reached.

Germany had a king, in name at least, until the death of Richard of Cornwall in 1272, but the most powerful person in the land during these years was Ottocar II. of Bohemia. We have mentioned the death of Frederick of Austria and the extinction of his race. As may be expected, there was a dispute over his lands, which the Emperor regarded as being at his disposal. For two or three years no one secured undisputed possession of the two duchies, Austria and Styria, left by Frederick, but in 1251 Ottocar, having married the late duke's sister, persuaded the nobles to choose him as their duke. A war with Hungary followed, and he was forced to surrender Styria; but six years later, in 1260, he recovered it, being formally invested with both duchies by Richard of Cornwall. A few years later he secured Carinthia and Carniola.

After Richard's death in 1272 no one seemed anxious to elect a successor, possibly because the absent Alphonso was still alive. He, however, was ignored by Pope Gregory X., although he asked for recognition, and the Pope sent word to the electors that if they did not choose a king he himself would do so. By this time a process, which may be described as one of natural selection, had reduced the number of the electors to seven, and to them the papal threat came. They heeded it, and chose, not Ottocar, but an insignificant count, Rudolph of Habsburg, who had lands in the Rhine valley. This election is one of the really great events in European history. Under Rudolph's descendants the German throne became in practice an hereditary one, and for four centuries they were the first family in Europe, Emperor and Roman king being only the first of their long list of sonorous titles.

Much could be said on this theme, but one remark must suffice. To write the history of this family would be to write, not only the history of Germany until 1866, but a not inconsiderable part of that of Europe.

Rudolph was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle towards the end of 1273, and was recognized by the princes and the towns. In fact, possibly from indifference, no one seemed to have the slightest objection to him. We have said no one, but this is not strictly correct, as Ottocar refused to do homage. Realizing his present insecurity, the new king bided his time, adding meanwhile, in an unobtrusive fashion, to his power and influence. Either by accident or design he struck the highroad to success. He began to build up the kingly power, not by vain attempts to restore the conditions of a past age, but by making his own family richer and stronger; henceforward this power, and not the princes, buttressed the German throne.

Having made sure of the support of the Church, Rudolph felt strong enough to tackle Ottocar. The challenge took the form of a demand for the three duchies, the property, not of the Bohemian, but of the German king. Ottocar, of course, refused to surrender them, and in 1276 war broke out. Rudolph took his foe by surprise, and Ottocar must perforce give up, not only Austria, Carinthia, and Styria, but also Carniola. He did not, however, accept the loss as final, and again trying the fortune of war was killed in battle in 1278.

Rudolph's object was to secure as much as possible of these surrendered lands for his own family. Now they were his only in his capacity of German king; he wished them to belong to him in a much more definite fashion. Bohemia he must leave to Ottocar's son Wenceslaus, but he obtained a grip upon that country by the marriage of its king with his own daughter. The duchies he kept in his own hands until 1282, when, after much trouble, he

persuaded the princes to allow him to bestow Austria, Styria, and Carniola upon his sons, Rudolph and Albert. Carinthia was given later to the count of Tirol.

During his nine remaining years Rudolph did something to bring back to his land the blessings of peace. Proclamations, both local and general, were issued, lawbreakers were threatened with penalties, and sometimes, but not always, these were enforced. Berne was reduced to obedience, the rebellious archbishop of Cologne was humbled, Thuringia was freed from its robber strongholds, and a rising of Burgundian nobles was crushed. Much still remained to do before the golden age of peace associated with the great names of Charlemagne and Barbarossa was restored, but when Rudolph died in 1291, he could claim that he had left Germany better than he found it. He had succeeded because, unlike so many, he had only attempted feats which were within his power to accomplish.

Rudolph had obtained Austria and the other duchies for his sons, but his efforts to secure the German crown for one of them were fruitless. The electors would neither be persuaded nor bribed, and when he died no successor had been designated. Nearly a year elapsed before they chose a new ruler, and this was not the late king's son Albert, who was a candidate, but Adolph of Nassau, an almost unknown count. Adolph followed the example set by his predecessor, but his efforts to secure Meissen and Thuringia for himself came to nought. Meanwhile Albert of Habsburg had not given up his hopes of kingship, although for a time his attention was occupied by troubles in that part of Swabia now included in Switzerland, for these were the years when the Swiss cantons were throwing off the hard yoke of the Habsburgs, and fighting their way to freedom. However, when Adolph had alienated some of the princes, Albert secured his



Me bel-Bruckmann, ph. sc.

COUNT RUDOLPH OF HABSBURG.

Rudolph is represented as offering his horse to a priest.

From the painting by Franz Pforr

rival's deposition and his own election as king. This was in May, 1298, and he followed up this diplomatic victory by defeating Adolph, who was killed in a battle fought near Worms in the following July.

Albert's position was assured by a fresh election, and by his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, although Pope Boniface VIII. refused to recognize him until 1303, when an agreement was made between them. The king made efforts to add to the lands of his family but these were unsuccessful. Holland and Zealand he failed to secure when their count died; Thuringia he invaded, but was defeated and compelled to withdraw; and although he did see one of his sons king of Bohemia, it was only for a year. However, he had the good sense to patronize the towns, and to free traders from all tolls on the Rhine imposed during the past fifty years. This led to a league against him, made by the four electors—three archbishops and the count palatine—whose interests were affected by this proceeding, but he reduced them to submission. In May, 1308, Albert was murdered by a disinherited nephew, and his reign came to an abrupt conclusion.

CHAPTER IX

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY AND ITS KINGS

THE fourteenth century in Germany may be described as the era of the great families. We have already noticed the Habsburgs, whose power rested on their possession of Austria and the neighbouring duchies, and a passing mention has been made of the Wittelsbachs, then as now ruling over Bavaria. More will soon be heard of them, and also of the Hohenzollerns, but, first of all, another family, that of Luxemburg, demands attention.

After King Albert's murder the electors, following their usual policy, preferred a weak to a strong king, and one, moreover, whose possession of the throne rested, not on any kind of hereditary right, but on their own favour only. Consequently, in November, 1308, they chose Henry, ruler of the small county of Luxemburg, whose candidature was urged by his brother Baldwin, the powerful archbishop of Trier. Henry VII. only reigned for five years, and about three of these he passed in Italy, whither he went after he had made peace with the Habsburgs, and had restored to the four electors the tolls on the Rhine of which Albert had deprived them. His most important contribution to German history, however, was to obtain for his son John—the same blind John who was killed at Crecy—the crown of Bohemia, for it was partly the possession of that country which enabled John's descendants to occupy such a prominent place in

Germany during the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth centuries.

Henry died in Italy in August, 1313, after which the electors refused to choose his son John as his successor, but failed to unite upon anyone else. For more than a year Germany had no king, and then in October, 1314, one —the larger—group of electors chose Louis, duke of Upper Bavaria, and the other chose Frederick of Austria, a son of King Albert I. Thus Luxemburg was thrust aside, and the ring was cleared for the contest of Habsburg and Wittelsbach, the second encounter between them, as, being cousins, they had already come to blows over a family matter. For nine years the war raged, mainly in the south of Germany, and as before Frederick was worsted, being defeated and made prisoner at Mühldorf in 1322. The victory of Louis was largely due to the support he received from the imperial cities (*Reichsstädte*), as many of the larger towns were now called, because they were free from any authority except that of the Emperor, and to the fact that the Habsburgs were prevented, owing to their struggle with the Swiss, from bringing their full strength against him. Frederick and Louis came to terms in 1325, when the former recognized his rival as king and was released, undertaking to return to prison if he failed to persuade his brother Leopold to do the same. He did fail and kept his promise, but Louis treated him rather as a friend than as a prisoner, and put forward the proposal that they should reign together. The plan of Louis was to leave Frederick in charge of Germany, while he himself went to Italy, but the arrangement had not been given a fair trial when for various reasons it was abandoned, and the Habsburg prince returned to Austria, where he died in 1330.

After 1326 Louis was generally recognized as German king, and then, like the greatest of his predecessors, he

turned his eyes to Italy, and became involved in a struggle with the Papacy, which recalled the stirring days of Henry IV. and Barbarossa. The Pope—at that time John XXII.—refused to recognize either Louis or Frederick as king, and put forward the strange claim that, as there was no sovereign in Germany, he himself was the rightful ruler until one was elected. This meant that the country was a papal fief. As a land left without an owner by death passed to the king or other overlord, or, to take a more exact parallel, as a bishopric or abbacy was administered by the crown until a new prelate was appointed, so Germany, pending the election of a new ruler, must be governed by its sovereign lord, the Pope. Louis, however, refused to clear the way by resigning his crown, and was excommunicated, but he found much support in Italy, not only from the Ghibelline cities and soldiers, always hostile to the Pope, but from scholars, a new force in these controversies, who were beginning to show that the pen was at least as mighty as the sword. Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun, in their joint work, *Defensor Pacis*, argued for the supremacy of the empire and for its independence of the Popes, and others followed on the same lines.

Louis entered Rome in triumph, and was crowned Emperor in January, 1328, by a Roman noble, after which he secured the election of an antipope, Nicholas V. Two years he spent fighting for his cause in Italy, and then in 1330 he returned to Germany. Apparently the country had hardly noticed his absence, which, indeed, could make little difference to any part of it except his own Bavaria; but there had been one or two futile movements to set up a rival king, the chief actors therein being the Pope, John of Bohemia, and Charles IV. of France. On his return the Emperor made an arrangement with John of Bohemia, and also with the surviving brothers of

Frederick of Austria, and so for a few months the three great families—Habsburg, Wittelsbach, and Luxemburg—were at peace. For this peace Louis paid a certain price in lands and promises of lands, but in less than a year John of Bohemia had solemnly promised the Pope that he would not recognize the Emperor as his sovereign until he was reconciled to the Church. Some very curious and involved negotiations then took place in which the restless Bohemian king was the central figure. The result was that in 1333 Louis agreed to resign the throne in favour of his cousin, Henry of Lower Bavaria, and to be reconciled with the Pope. The princes, however, disliked the idea, and the arrangement had not been carried out when Pope John died in 1334.

Negotiations were continued with John's successor, Pope Benedict XII., but there was no result from these, and about 1337 they were abandoned. In that year Louis allied himself with Edward III. of England, his object being to avenge himself on Philip VI. of France, who had instigated Benedict to reject the very substantial concessions made by the Emperor. Louis, however, did not give any serious assistance to his ally, whom he abandoned in 1341. More important was an event of 1338. The electors, now accustomed to act together in their own interests, met at Rense and declared most emphatically that their right of electing the German kings should not be controlled or limited in any manner whatever. A little later the diet at Frankfort expressed similar opinions. The imperial power, it was stated, came from God alone, and the rightfully elected king needed no confirmation from the Pope or from anyone else. These declarations represented in general the views of the people of Germany, and showed the great change which had taken place since the days of Hildebrand. We are now midway between that great Pope and Luther, not

only in the matter of date, but also in the domain of political and religious thought.

This tendency on the part of the electors to assert themselves is one of the features of this reign; the other is the attempts made by the three great families to increase their possessions. In 1323 Louis secured for his son Louis the mark of Brandenburg, then without a ruler owing to the extinction of the family founded by Albert the Bear. In 1335 Carinthia and Tirol were similarly left, an event for which the Habsburgs and the Luxemburgs had prepared. Unable for several reasons to obtain these countries for his own house, as he had obtained Brandenburg, Louis decided that the Habsburgs had the better claim, and helped them to make this good against John of Bohemia. After some fighting, however, John secured Tirol for his son John Henry, while the Habsburgs obtained Carinthia, which they have retained, with very brief intervals, since that date.

But this dispute was by no means over. John Henry's rule in Tirol was unpopular, and, further, his wife, through whom he had secured the country, left him for the Emperor's son, Louis of Brandenburg. The elder Louis approved of this proceeding, pronounced the marriage with John Henry null and void, and gave to his son and his bride not only Tirol, but also Carinthia. A little later he secured for himself Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, left without a ruler on the death of their count, William IV., but this was his last success. He had united powerful foes against him, their leaders being John of Bohemia and Pope Clement VI. Fighting broke out in Tirol and elsewhere, and this was interspersed with negotiations, during which Louis again offered to abdicate, but even this failed to placate his enemies. He therefore continued the fight, but he had alienated the electors, less zealous in protecting the Emperor's interests than

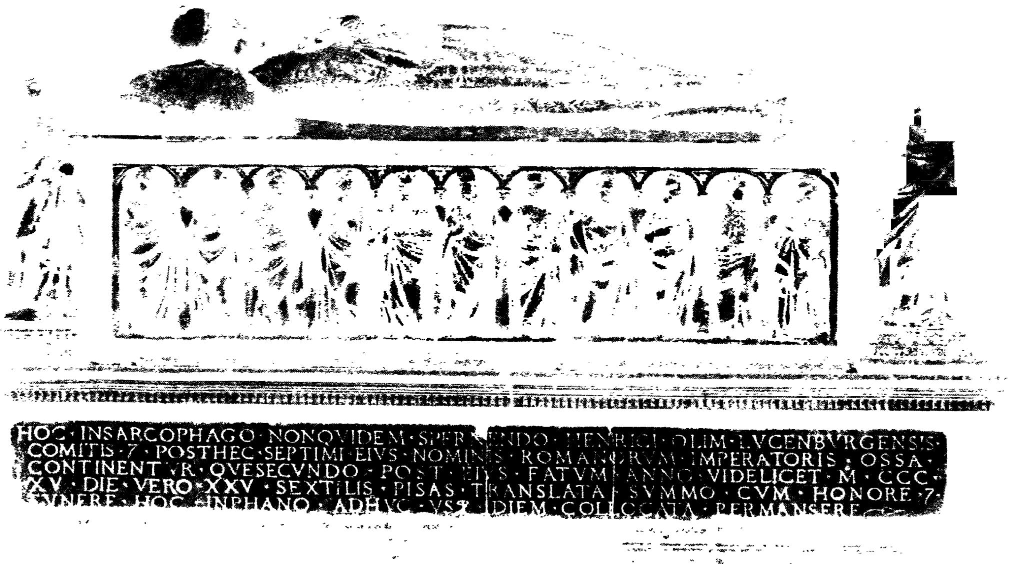
they had been in asserting their own, and in July, 1346, five of them met together, declared Louis deposed, and chose as his successor John's son, Charles of Luxemburg. This did not, however, seriously affect the Emperor's position, for John and Charles left him alone while they went to Crecy, where the former's death seriously weakened his son's chances of success. In the next year Louis died (October, 1347) and the way was open for fresh developments.

Charles, ruler of Bohemia and Moravia, was now the only German king, but it remained to be seen whether he could make himself the ruler of the country, not in name only, but in fact. He won over some of his enemies, and purchased the support of many of the imperial cities, faithful friends to the late Emperor, but the other supporters of Louis did not accept him, and chose as their king Günther of Schwarzburg. Günther was unequal to the task of ousting Charles, and soon gave up the attempt, and in 1349 the Luxemburg king was formally recognized by Louis of Brandenburg, the head of the Wittelsbachs, and in July, 1349, he was crowned again at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Occupied with the wars and rivalries of princes, the tendency of writers is to forget the condition of the people, which is, after all, the most important, although the least-known part, of a nation's history. In the fifteenth century, however, this cannot be ignored. In England it was the time of the Black Death, and of the rising of Tyler and the peasants, and in Germany there were similar movements. About the time when Charles became king there was a popular outburst against the Jews, who, free from the burdens of paying tithes to the Church and fees to the guilds, had accumulated great wealth, and consequently had aroused the enmity of their poorer neighbours. Especially in the south and west their property was plun-

dered and their houses destroyed, and when pestilence came these outrages were renewed with redoubled violence, and the sufferings of the people were ascribed to the agency of the Jews. About the same time the Flagellants, coming from Austria and Hungary, added by their preaching and practices to the prevailing unrest, inflamed the populace further against the Jews, and, repulsed from the gates of several cities, travelled across Germany to Holland and the Rhineland. On the heels of this movement came the Black Death, which appeared in 1348 in Carinthia and Styria, whence it spread over the whole land, although all parts did not suffer equally from it. As in England, the loss of life was enormous, and the plague seriously arrested the development of industry and trade.

In 1356 Charles IV., having just been crowned Emperor at Rome, decided to remove several uncertainties connected with the election of the king. Gradually the electors had become fewer and fewer in number, but disputes were always arising as to the right of this or that prince to vote, and as to the rightful heir of the vote of a dead elector. The proposals were discussed by those affected by them, and were finally embodied in the Golden Bull, the most famous document in the constitutional history of Germany. The number of electors remained at seven, and it was decided that the ruler of the Rhenish Palatinate—the count palatine, and not the ruler of Bavaria, should have the vote about which the branches of the Wittelsbach family had been quarrelling. An election was declared valid if a majority voted for a candidate; it was not necessary to have a unanimous vote. To prevent disputes it was decided that the countries ruled by the four lay electors—Bohemia, the Rhenish Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg—should be indivisible; in the past they had occasionally been divided on a ruler's death, and thus complications and quarrels had



THE UPPER PORTION OF THE MAGNIFICENT MONUMENT OF HENRY VII. (HENRY OF LUXEMBURG).

He died at Pisa in 1313, having only been chosen king in 1308. The original is in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

arisen. In the case of the three other electors, the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, this difficulty did not exist. The electors were given the rights of sovereigns over their lands, and as a further concession to them the cities which they disliked were forbidden to make leagues and to receive *Pfahlbürger*, these being men who lived outside their walls but placed themselves under their protection.*

Charles, it will be remembered, was king of Bohemia as well as Emperor and German king, and, moreover, he had inherited the tradition that his first duty was to increase the lands of his own family. After the issue of the Golden Bull he devoted himself steadily to this work. In various parts of Germany he bought estates; he added Lower Lusatia to Bohemia in 1367, and he allowed princes to obtain disputed lands after making the stipulation that if their families died out his own should inherit. In 1373 he purchased the mark of Brandenburg, the ruler of which was one of the electors, from the Wittelsbachs, and through his third wife he obtained a good deal of Silesia. In Bohemia itself he made roads and encouraged trade in other ways, placed the country's finances on a more satisfactory basis, and founded the university of Prague. Charles died in November, 1378, and was succeeded by his son Wenceslaus, who had been crowned German king two years before.

We have referred already to the jealousy between the princes and the towns, and during the reigns of Charles and Wenceslaus, both of whom neglected Germany, this was the chief feature in the country's history. The towns were strongest and most numerous in Swabia, where in 1331 twenty-two of them had formed a league to help

* This is the generally accepted view of the meaning of this word, but it should be said that it is not absolutely certain that it is the correct one.

the Emperor Louis IV. They took little notice of the various provisions forbidding them to make associations of this kind, and some years afterwards, in 1356, a war broke out between them and a league of Swabian nobles. Charles IV. did something to bring about peace, and in 1370 he succeeded in forming a league for its maintenance, but the hostility between the two parties was too serious to be decided without the shedding of blood. In 1372 a body of townsmen were cut to pieces by the count of Württemberg, whose position made him the leader of the nobles, and then, after appeals to the Emperor for protection had failed, fourteen Swabian cities formed the important league of 1376, its objects being to defend their civic rights and to maintain the public peace. The association was declared illegal by the Emperor, but in 1377 its troops defeated those of the count of Württemberg in a pitched battle at Reutlingen. By this time it had become so powerful that Wenceslaus, acting for his father, recognized it, and promised that the privileges of the towns should remain untouched. Strengthened by its victories, both military and diplomatic, the league quickly extended its activities into Bavaria and the Rhineland, and, as nothing succeeds like success, it had no difficulty in obtaining new members and in dealing with breaches of the public peace. In 1381 it formed an alliance with a group of Rhenish cities, and a little later made another with the Swiss.

Both those who write and those who read the history of Germany are continually reminded that the borders of the country were not always the same as they are to-day. We are now speaking of a time when there was no Switzerland, but when that land was part of Germany. The Swiss were still under the rule of the Habsburgs, the great family in that region, although since the time of Rudolph I. its members had been mainly occupied with

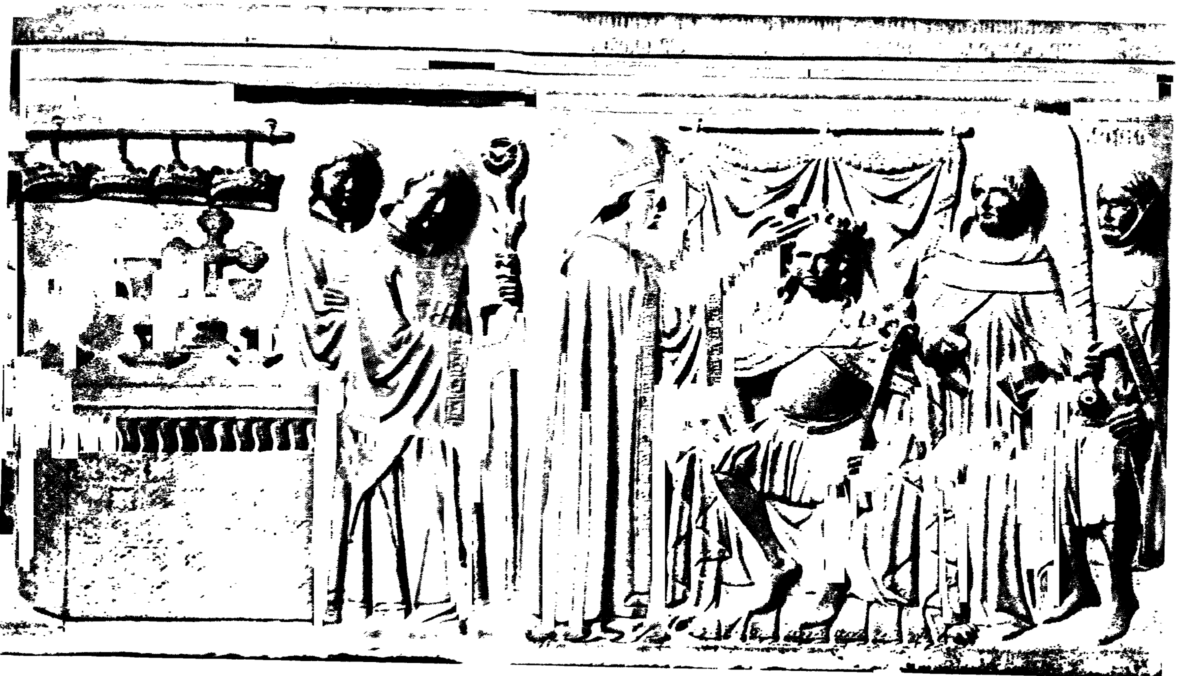
ruling their Austrian lands. Probably with reason the Swiss disliked these counts or lords, against whom they had already rebelled successfully, and they were eager to follow up the advantage they had gained at Morgarten in 1315. Soon after they had concluded their alliance with the Swabian League they rebelled again, and in 1386 they defeated the Habsburgs and killed Duke Leopold at Sempach. Their political freedom was assured by this and other victories, but they remained in theory part of Germany until 1648, although from 1499 no attempt was made by the German kings to interfere with them. The Swabian towns were not equally successful during the civil war which was now prevalent in the south-west. In 1388 the Swabians were defeated at Döffingen, and a few months later the Rhenish League met with a similar experience near Worms. In 1389 peace was made. The cities accepted humiliating terms, and the nobles took advantage of their victory to crush their foes in every possible way. At Eger Wenceslaus proclaimed a land peace, and forbade all leagues between cities, a verbal contribution only to the problem.

As king, both in Germany and Bohemia, Wenceslaus was a failure. He attempted several times to restore order in the former country, but without much success, and in Bohemia his conduct led to a rebellion, during which he was imprisoned, and was only released after agreeing to surrender some of his kingly powers. The year (1378) in which he began his reign saw also the beginning of the great papal schism. Two Popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII., were elected. Urban was generally recognized in Germany and by Wenceslaus, while Clement lived at Avignon under the protection of France, and the schism continued for about fifty years, in spite of the fact that in 1398 the kings of Germany and France met at Rheims, and decided to persuade the

two rivals—then Benedict XIII. and Boniface IX.—the successors of Urban and Clement, to resign.

By this time Wenceslaus had completely lost the confidence of his German subjects. He had done what he ought not to have done—abandoned Boniface, and sold the high title of duke to a Visconti—and he had left undone what he ought to have done—failed to restore order or to appear in Germany—and in 1399 three of the electors decided to permit no further proceedings of this kind on his part. Two other electors soon joined them, and it was clear that they represented the general feeling of the princes. Having asserted themselves to this extent, it was only going a step further to decide upon the deposition of Wenceslaus. After some delay and difficulty they agreed upon a successor, and in August, 1400, they declared that Wenceslaus had forfeited his crown, and chose as German king one of themselves, Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine. The deprived monarch made no effort to resist this decision, but he remained king of Bohemia until his death in 1419, except for nearly two years (1402-1404), when he was a prisoner in the hands of his brother Sigismund.

Rupert was recognized as king in the south and west, after which he went to Italy, returning, baffled by want of money, to Germany in 1402. His enemies there had formed a league against him, but owing to the inactivity of Wenceslaus it came to nothing, and the king could turn his attention to the difficult problem of restoring order. In this he was hardly more successful than his predecessor had been. Leagues of various kinds were in existence, and in 1406 one was formed, the real object of which was to circumscribe the power of the king. In vain Rupert tried to bring about its dissolution; instead, he must recognize its existence, and under the elector of Mainz it remained a source of anxiety to him during the



THE CROWNING OF A GERMAN EMPEROR.

From a fourteenth-century sculptured panel in Monza Cathedral.

rest of his short reign. Moreover, it was complicated by the papal schism, and the proposal to end this by calling a general council, a question on which Rupert and Wenceslaus found themselves on opposite sides. Rupert died in May, 1410, having, in spite of his courage and activity, done nothing to avert the declining power of the German kings.

CHAPTER X

MEDIEVAL GERMANY

Industry and Trade—The Towns—The Hanseatic League—The Constitution.

THE first and most important of human industries is agriculture, and this was practised in Germany from the earliest times, much as it was in other parts of Western Europe. Clearings were made in the forests, and rough ploughs drawn by oxen upturned the soil, on which a scanty crop was grown, while sheep and cattle were pastured on the surrounding land. Marshes were drained and made productive by colonists who had learned this work in their earlier homes in the Netherlands, and gradually the German people spread, albeit thinly, over the whole of the land, including the districts beyond the Elbe taken from the Slavs. In this sense the country may be said to have been settled by 1300 or thereabouts. There were still large tracts of woodland, but Germany was covered with a network of villages, and vast and unknown lands no longer invited the settler. From this time, therefore, the German agriculturalist began to pay some little attention to the intensive cultivation of the soil, hitherto neglected in favour of extensive cultivation.

To the more primitive forms of agriculture was soon added the culture of the vine. In the tenth century this was found in the Rhineland; in the twelfth it was a flourishing industry which spread to Thuringia and Tirol.

and even to Silesia. In the eleventh century mining became a fairly important industry, the metals raised being mainly silver and copper. Two minor industries, fishing and bee-keeping, were chiefly in the hands of the Slavs, who lived on the shores of the Baltic Sea.

From agriculture to handicrafts is a natural step in the history of human industry. Man soon discovered that the hide of the beast and the fleece of the sheep could be utilized to keep him warm, and gradually his necessity—the mother of invention—found better and better ways of securing this end, and thus we have the callings of the tanner and the weaver. In Germany, as elsewhere, the earliest handicrafts were practised in the monasteries and in the houses of the great, where spinning and weaving were carried on and where clothing was made, while the king or lord had also in his employ those skilful in the fashioning of weapons, both of war and of the chase. Another industry which sprang up at an early date was that of building, the quarrying and hewing of the stone being followed by the actual erection of churches, castles, houses, and walls. Soon new handicrafts arose, handicrafts devoted, not to utilitarian, but to decorative work. Skilled masons were engaged to carve figures upon the stone, and, as one result of greater supplies of silver and copper, the art of working in metals was introduced and developed, while another industry was the preparation of parchment. In these handicrafts the monks were pre-eminent, and Germany, like England and France, owes her early progress therein mainly to their careful and vigilant toil.

A great step forward was taken when these craftsmen became peripatetic. About 900 some monks from the abbey of St. Gall settled in Mainz for the purpose of working in wool, and this is illustrative of the coming change. Skilled artificers, having gained a reputation,

found their services eagerly in request. Kings and rich men engaged them to erect and adorn churches and palaces, and soon they had escaped from the position of bondsmen, labouring for maintenance only, and were working on their own account. Many of them migrated to the towns, which they made their headquarters, and were soon co-operating with others in the same industry. One trade led to another, and soon the towns contained bakers, butchers, weavers, shoemakers, and smiths, many of them men who had learned and practised their callings as bondsmen, but who had escaped from the servitude of the castle to the freedom of the town. These industries, especially those connected with textiles, were most advanced in the towns along the Rhine, which received an influx of clever Flemish weavers, and it was in these that guilds of workmen were first formed.

Guilds are regarded by some as of religious origin, but the essential fact about them for our purpose is that they were associations of men working at the same trade, and that their main object was to protect the trade interests of their members. They were not so important a factor in the town life of Germany as they were in that of England, but yet they were numerous and influential. In Cologne there were several guilds of weavers as early as the twelfth century, and at the end of the eleventh there was an association of the kind in Mainz.

Commerce, however, needs something more than clever workmen and powerful organizations if it is to flourish. It needs good means of communication. The first great highway for German trade was the river Rhine, and this made Cologne the greatest trading-centre of medieval Germany. A great road ran from Leipzig to Breslau by way of Görlitz, and there were roads to Italy through the passes of the Alps, which became more generally used during the time of the Hohenstaufen Emperors and with



Acme Photo Co.

ROTHENBURG-ON-THE-TAUBER.

One of the most picturesque of the mediaeval German towns.

the increasing wealth of the cities of Lombardy, and which gave a great impetus to the growth of Nuremberg and Augsburg. In general, however, Germany was badly provided with these arteries of trade, and one result was the marked separation between the north and the south of the land. This scarcity of roads may have been the cause, or it may have been the effect, of the important fact that the trade between East and West in the main avoided Germany. It went by Italy and Spain, or by Novgorod and the Baltic, to London and the West, and consequently Germany shared but slightly in the riches which followed in its train. Trade was hampered, too—and in this Germany was not alone—by the insecurity of the roads and by the tolls imposed, not once or twice, but many times, upon the merchant-ships as they sailed along the rivers.

The bulk of Germany's trade, then, was very local in its nature, just the sale of agricultural products and of cloth and metal wares in the neighbourhood of their growth or manufacture. A little of this, however, found its way to more distant parts of the land, and in addition certain articles were exported. Salt was sent to the East, and the famous cloth of Cologne was despatched by Regensburg to the same quarter. Associations of merchants were established, and soon something of the nature of banking came into existence.

Trade is the mother of towns, and it is therefore not surprising that nearly all the early German towns were on or near the Rhine, the main highway of German trade. Each village or mark community was at first self-supporting, but in the course of time one or other had a surplus of corn or cattle which it was anxious to exchange for something else. To meet this need markets were established in convenient places, and the king, or duke, or bishop, gave, or rather sold, his protection to the traders

in return for certain payments or tolls. Markets are mentioned as existing in Germany in the ninth century, and soon market towns became numerous, and attracted permanent residents, who obtained a livelihood by ministering to the wants of the traders. At first trade was mainly barter, but as more metal was extracted from the mines money became more plentiful, and by 1200 coins were generally employed. To provide these mints were necessary, and the profits from the mints were taken by bishops, counts, and others, who were allowed by the king to erect them on their lands, and who coined money bearing their own superscription.

A further step was taken when these market towns, richer as a result of the trade which passed through them, were protected by walls, and, roughly speaking, the presence or absence of a wall was the first great difference between a town and a village. Other towns grew up around the dwelling of a king or bishop, as Aix-la-Chapelle, the residence of Charlemagne, Regensburg, the residence of Louis the German, Magdeburg, Bamberg, Salzburg and others; and some, among them Hersfeld and Hildesheim, around an abbey. A few of these towns, Mainz, Worms, and Spires, for instance, were, like York and Salisbury, on or near the site of Roman cities, and, it may be, had never been entirely deserted, their favourable situations on the Rhine making them obvious centres of population and of trade.

The growth of handicrafts, and with it the increase in trade, was the making of the towns. Their situation on a great river or a broad highway attracted men from the country districts, and soon many industries were thriving therein, and much wealth was being accumulated. This medieval "rush to the towns" was stimulated when it became a recognized custom that residence for a year and a day in a town relieved a bondsman from servitude.

In short, after the lapse of that period his lord could not fetch him back. Many of the towns became corporate bodies, groups of persons with a special status in the land, and some of them, called the Free Imperial Cities, were under no authority whatever except that of the king. The eleventh century, the time of the struggle between Pope and Emperor, was a great time for the towns. They threw themselves eagerly on the side of the king simply because he had the most to give, and from Henry IV., and a century and a half later from Frederick II., they obtained many privileges, paid for from the increasing wealth of their citizens. In 1074 Worms, and in 1111 Spires, were released from the obligation of paying the royal tolls, and these are only two instances among many. Other cities, such as Mainz in 1118, gained similar privileges from their episcopal lords.

The towns were governed by councils, and for their own purposes they raised money from their inhabitants, which they used to strengthen, and, later, to beautify themselves. About 1200 Cologne, Mainz, and Strassburg erected new walls for their protection, and the number of fine churches and houses erected about this time, some of which may still be seen, is perhaps the most significant proof of their wealth.

It has been already pointed out that many of the German cities grew up around the residence of a bishop, and this was especially so in the Rhineland, where, in a few places, among them Cologne, the succession of bishops was unbroken from Roman times. The bishops regarded the townsmen as their dependents, and looked with great suspicion upon their growing prosperity, or, rather, upon the greater freedom which accompanied this. It is not surprising, therefore, that German history is full of struggles between the bishops and the townsmen, who were eager to get the government, hitherto monopolized

by the prelate and his nominees, into their own hands. As often as not they succeeded, and it was no uncommon occurrence for a bishop to be a permanent exile from the city in which his cathedral stood. Worms, where these contests were especially fierce, may be cited as an illustration. Before 1300 cases were tried in the Bishop's Hall, but about this date the citizens built their own *Rathaus*, where they were heard by their own officials, the authority of the bishop being regarded by them, according to the *Annales*, as of no account. He, in his turn, did not take this with Christian resignation, and the consequence was many years of strife.

Another way in which the towns revealed their growing power was in forming leagues with one another, a proceeding which, in the fifteenth century especially, materially affected the history of Germany. In the thirteenth century, during the period of anarchy which followed the death of Frederick II., a federation of more than a hundred towns was formed; its nucleus was the rich Rhenish cities, but it extended as far north as Bremen, and in other directions to Regensburg and Zürich. Other leagues were formed, sometimes in association with groups of princes, but more often in opposition to them, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century these leagues of towns were factors of national importance.

We come now to the greatest of all associations of German towns, the famous Hanseatic League. In 1241 Lübeck and Hamburg, then rising to wealth and importance, took united action for the purpose of securing the safety of the road connecting the North Sea with the Baltic, and in 1256 certain maritime towns, known later as the Wendish group, and including, in addition to Lübeck and Hamburg, Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund, took steps to protect their common interests. These interests had become much more important owing to the settle-

ment of Germans along the southern shores of the Baltic between 1050 and 1250, and to the work of the Teutonic Order, just beginning, in 1250, to spread the influence of Germany in the land beyond the Vistula, which by this time had succeeded the Oder, just as earlier the Oder has succeeded the Elbe, as the eastern frontier of the country.

The commercial cities of Germany may be divided into two groups, those along the Baltic under the leadership of Lübeck, and those in the Lower Rhineland under Cologne. There was a good deal of rivalry between the two, competition for the trade of England and Flanders, but they were sufficiently alive to their common interests to act together at times in protecting the trade routes from pirates, and in watching over the welfare of German merchants in foreign lands.

To this latter consideration the rise of the Hanseatic League is directly due. At Wisby, on the island of Gothland, the first association of German merchants abroad was formed, and in this more than thirty towns, including Cologne, Utrecht, and Reval, were united. In 1237 this company obtained trading rights in England, in Flanders, and for its branch at Novgorod ; while in the interests of trade it issued laws and kept a common chest for funds. In the course of a few years, however, Lübeck supplanted Wisby as the head of the federation, and from this time much greater progress was made.

As early as the twelfth century the merchants of Cologne possessed a trading centre, or guild-hall, in London, and had formed a *Hansa*, or association of merchants, there; in 1226 the Emperor Frederick II. conferred upon the citizens of Lübeck equal trading rights with those of Cologne, while forty years later the English King Henry III. permitted the merchants of Hamburg and Lübeck to open *Hansas* in London. In 1282 these three *Hansas* were united in a common guild-hall of the

Germans, in which Cologne was the dominant partner. But it was not only in London that the German merchants had their *Hansas*. There was one in Bruges, where, after 1309, they enjoyed a privileged position, and the merchants of this "counter," as those trading associations were called, were foremost in insisting upon the necessity of union among the various associations, or *Hansas*, which together became the Hanseatic League. Another important counter was at Bergen, while the one at Novgorod has been already mentioned.

In spite of the disorder in Flanders in the fourteenth century caused by the long war between England and France, the different *Hansas* drew more closely together, and in 1361, we are told, "representatives from Lübeck and Wisby visited Novgorod to recodify the by-laws of the counter, and to admonish it that new statutes required the consent of Lübeck, Wisby, Riga, Dorpat, and Reval." In 1366 an assembly of the various *Hansas* confirmed this action, and by this time the Hanseatic League was fairly launched on its career. Its strength was soon manifested. In England the privileged German merchants were regarded with jealousy, and consequently the duties paid by their goods were increased. They appealed to Lübeck and the other cities, and, as the result of representations, Richard III., in 1377, confirmed all their privileges. In 1361 the allied towns were strong enough to resist Waldemar IV. of Denmark, who had conquered Wisby, and wanted to make himself lord of the Baltic. In the first encounter they were beaten, but they returned to the attack, and by the treaty of Stralsund (1370) they secured for a limited period the four main castles which guarded the Sound.

A more complete union followed quickly, important steps being taken between 1356 and 1380. The chief authority was transferred from the different *Hansas* in

foreign cities to the one *Hansa* at home, and in 1380 it was asserted that "whatever touches one town touches all." In 1418 Lübeck, the headship of which had hitherto been tacitly admitted, was formally recognized as the head of the League. Its governing body, the Hansetag, met irregularly when summoned by Lübeck, and to it all the associated towns were entitled to send representatives. It was, however, of little practical importance, and the League's affairs were in reality directed by the merchants of Lübeck in close accord with the *Hansas* in Bruges and London. At first any town sharing in Hanseatic privileges abroad was admitted to membership, but after a time a more exclusive policy was adopted, and in 1447 it was decided that new members should only be admitted after a unanimous vote in their favour. The rules and also the duties of membership, however, continued to be very vague, and the amorphous nature of the organization is shown by the fact that, in spite of requests, no list of members was ever officially compiled. Money was raised for the common fund, but this aroused some irritation, and in other ways, too, there was often a want of harmony. Cologne was frequently an unruly member, and from 1471 to 1476 was excluded from the benefits enjoyed by the members of the League, and a similar punishment was sometimes inflicted on other towns.

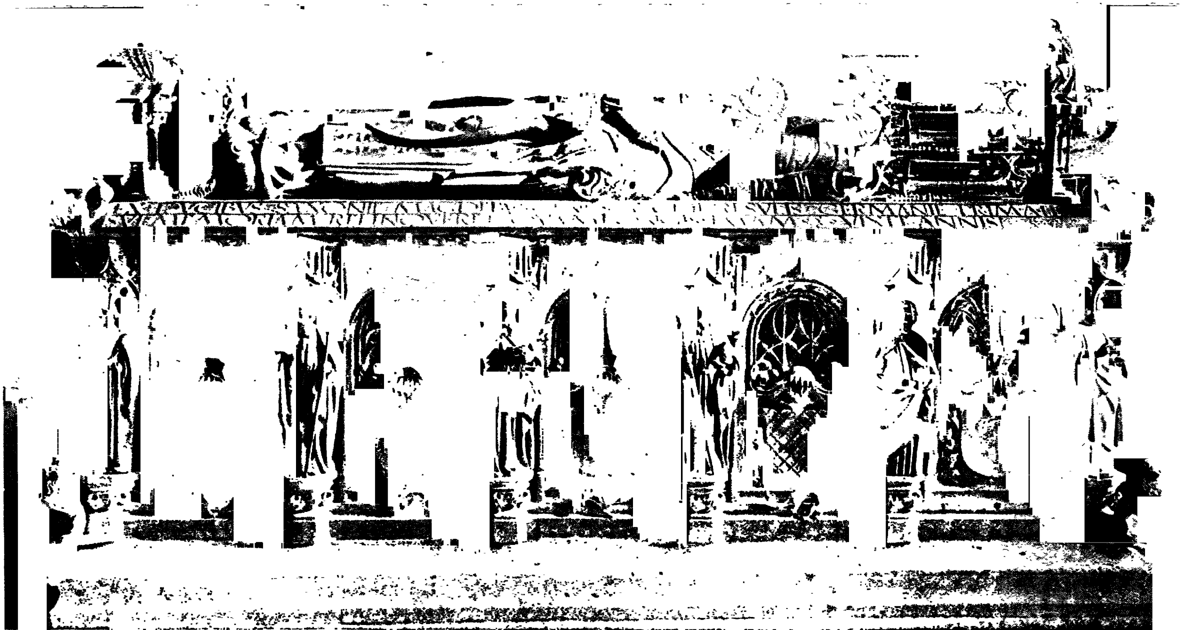
In the fifteenth century the League began to decay, although this was not perhaps very evident until the sixteenth. In 1441 it waged an unsuccessful war with Holland, and after the fall of the Teutonic Order in 1467 the Hanse towns in Prussia and Livonia acted in opposition to the interests of their associates. In England, on the other hand, a renewal of the League's special privileges was secured in 1474, but about a century later they were withdrawn, and in 1494 the counter at Novgorod was closed. The reasons for the League's decline are to be

found in the diversion of the stream of commerce into new channels, and the growth of new trading centres, wherein it was unable to secure the privileged position it enjoyed in the older ones. Moreover, its successes had created enemies. Competition became fiercer and fiercer, and it was the rivals of the League, and not the League itself, upon which kings and other potentates now looked with a kindly eye. Moreover, the absence of a strong central authority in Germany placed it in a position of inferiority when it came into collision with the merchants of England or of France. It had, so to speak, no natural protector, and the princes of Germany were more eager to hinder than to aid its activities.

In the sixteenth century the Scandinavian countries deprived the League of its hitherto proud position on the Baltic, and the attempts made by it to maintain the narrow restrictions upon trade, successful in the fourteenth century, were doomed to failure in the larger world of the sixteenth. Soon the League was confined to the three cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, to which in 1629 its general welfare was formally entrusted. In 1669 it held its last general assembly, when a futile attempt was made to revive it, and after this the three surviving counters—at Bergen, Antwerp, and London—existed under the protection of the three Hanse cities until the buildings were finally sold, the one in London in 1852, and the one in Antwerp in 1863.

Like our own, the German constitution in the Middle Ages was a flexible and not a rigid one. It was continually changing with the growth of the nation, and thus it was very different in the days of Charles V. from what it had been in the time of Charlemagne. Here we can only give a brief outline of it as it was at the close of the Middle Ages, or about 1450.

At its head stood the king, who was more often than


Dr. Stoedtner.

TOMB OF ERNEST, DUKE OF SAXONY, AND ARCHBISHOP OF MAGDEBURG.

In Magdeburg Cathedral.

not Holy Roman Emperor, and as such lord of Italy as well as of Germany. The two positions, however—those of German king and Roman Emperor—did not go well together, and for Germany at least the connection was a source of weakness. Indeed the outstanding fact about the German monarchy is that it was a weak one. The main cause of this was undoubtedly its elective character. To secure support candidates promised lands and favours of all kinds to the electors, and the one who was chosen was called upon to make good his word, which he did at the expense of himself and his successors, until, in the fifteenth century, he had little left to give away. Again the German king was weak because he was only one among many rulers, some of whom were as strong or even stronger than he himself was. Like them he had hereditary lands, which supplied him with money and soldiers, but his high position brought him very little additional power or wealth. He could call upon the princes to help him in case of need, and he had a certain revenue from mining royalties and other sources, but nothing like enough to make his rule respected and efficient.

Next to the king were the princes, and especially the seven princes who had secured for themselves the position of electors. They were the rulers of Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Rhenish Palatinate, together with the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and it was they who had secured the lion's share of the favours lavishly granted by the kings of the past. They had been released from one obligation after another, and in the Golden Bull of 1356 their territories had been declared indivisible. Consequently—we refer now only to the lands of the four lay electors—they were becoming strong states, descending from father to son, and, for practical purposes, the king had about as little authority over them as he had over England or Spain.

Outside the electors was a body of princes, some hundreds in number, and one which had reached its present unwieldy size owing to the prevailing practice of dividing a state among all the sons of a deceased ruler—a practice stopped as far as the lay electors were concerned by the Golden Bull, and somewhat later to a certain extent by voluntary action on the part of the other princes. These princes ranged in importance from the powerful duke of Bavaria to a poor count ruling a few acres of land, but all alike were dependent only upon the king. They were, in the language of feudalism, mediate princes. They were divided into two main classes, lay and clerical, the former including dukes, margraves, and counts, and the latter archbishops, bishops, and abbots.

The free cities were another element in the constitution. They, too, were independent of any authority save that of the king, but they formed a separate class, and one regarded with suspicion by the princes. Some important towns, among them Nuremberg, were not free cities, but were under the dominion of some neighbouring prince, on whose land they had been built, and whose chief interest therein was the collection of dues. Generally the free cities were governed by a *Rat*, or council, a small oligarchy, but representative in a sense of the trade or other interests of the citizens. Like the princes, they valued their immediate position because it was one of real freedom. The king was too weak to enforce any serious authority; a neighbouring prince, if they passed under his rule, would do so promptly and probably harshly.

Ignoring the king, therefore, the real rulers of Germany were the princes and the town councillors. Each of the former had his court, his officials and his revenues, rents and tolls and dues of various kinds, derived in one way or another from the people of his land. He, or his nominees, acted as judge and general, and his rule was

only divided from that of an absolute monarch by the general sense of the age, by the possibility of revolt, and by the probability that the injured would appeal successfully for aid to some neighbouring prince, already either covetous or revengeful, or both. The towns were ruled by their councillors, with checks upon their power differing with the inevitable differences between an urban and a rural community, and between one ruled individually and one ruled collectively.

Germany had a Parliament, the *Reichstag*, called by the king whenever he willed and to whatever place he chose. It may be said to have represented the German people, although not quite in the modern sense. The electors and the other princes represented the people over whom they ruled, while the towns sent burghers to represent them. First meeting all together, the members gradually separated into three bodies, or colleges, as they were called. The first was the College of Electors, the second the College of Princes, and the third the College of Free Cities, the last of these being long regarded as inferior to the other two. The *Reichstag* was called together when the king wanted advice, or to issue some important order about the government of the country, but it never thoroughly controlled the finances of the nation, and so never attained the importance of our English Parliament. The name usually applied to it, however, was not the German one *Reichstag*, but one of Latin origin—*diet*, and under this we meet constantly with it in the country's history.

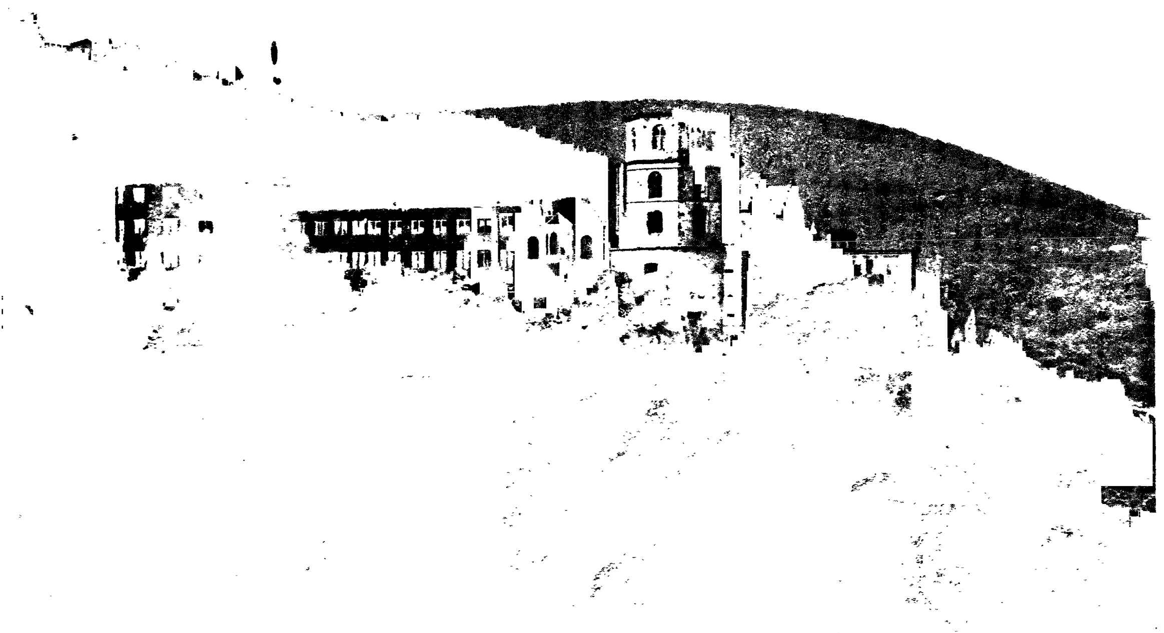
CHAPTER XI

THE REIGNS OF SIGISMUND AND FREDERICK III.

In 1410, after King Rupert's death, there was a double election, the two princes chosen being Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his cousin, Jobst, margrave of Moravia; while the situation was further complicated by the fact that the deposed Wenceslaus was still alive, and was reigning in Bohemia. In 1411, however, Jobst died, and Sigismund, having made an arrangement with Wenceslaus, was again chosen, and this time was generally recognized.

The new king was a son of Charles IV., and therefore a brother of Wenceslaus. By marriage he had obtained possession of the crown of Hungary in 1386, but he had never been more than the king of a faction, and his historic defeat by the Turks at Nicopolis in 1396 had reduced his authority there to a shadow. Unlike Wenceslaus, however, he was clever and ambitious. As margrave of Brandenburg, he had interests in Germany, and when he was repulsed from Hungary he found in that country and in Bohemia a field for his activities. As related, he became German king in 1411, and in 1419, on the death of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.

We have seen how the states ruled by the four lay electors had secured a privileged position in Germany, with the result that in the course of time they formed a class apart, superior to the others in power, size, wealth, and prestige. As regards Bohemia, the connection be-



HEIDELBERG CASTLE.

The building was begun in the thirteenth century, and was enlarged and beautified by various rulers of the Palatinate until the time of the Thirty Years' War.

tween it and Germany was very slight indeed. For some centuries its sovereigns had owed allegiance to the German kings, and their land was regarded as part of the Roman Empire; but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the only effective tie was a personal one—the fact that Charles IV., and after him his sons, Wenceslaus and Sigismund, were kings of both countries. This being so, Charles secured for the king of Bohemia—that is, for himself and his descendants—a place among the seven electors, although it was expressly stipulated that he was not a member of the electoral college except when it met to elect a ruler. In other words, the king of Bohemia had no share in the business of governing Germany, as he did not attend the diets. With fairly brief intervals the German king was also king of Bohemia from the time of Charles IV. to the end of the empire, and it was in this sense only that the one country can be said to have been part of the other.

The Rhenish Palatinate, the district governed by the count palatine of the Rhine, originally a royal official, but now an important ruler, had been given in 1214 to the family of Wittelsbach, to which the dukes of Bavaria belonged, and for a time these two countries had been under a common ruler. In 1255, however, they were definitely separated, and the quarrel as to which branch of the family was entitled to the position of elector was settled by the Golden Bull in favour of the ruler of the Palatinate.

Brandenburg and Saxony, the two remaining lay electorates, owe a good deal to Sigismund, who, without any thought beyond the financial needs of the moment, launched each upon a career of prosperity. In 1415 he sold, or rather pledged, the mark of Brandenburg to his friend, Frederick of Hohenzollern. The pledge was never redeemed, and the Hohenzollerns gradually extended

their power until they formed and ruled the new German Empire. In 1423, in return for help against the Hussites, he granted the vacant duchy of Saxe-Wittenberg to Frederick, margrave of Meissen, a member of the family of Wettin, which has retained it until our own day, and under which it attained a high position, especially in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

One other state should be mentioned, which, although not an electorate, was perhaps at this time more than the equal of the electoral states. This was Bavaria, probably the largest of all, and one which had played an important part in German history, and was only prevented from becoming still more prominent by continual quarrels among the members of its ruling house and the many divisions of their territory.

The reign of Sigismund was a busy one. For long he was occupied with the Council of Constance and the attempts to end the schism in the Church, and then with the war against the Hussites which followed the execution of Huss. In addition to keeping Bohemia in a state of anarchy, the Hussites invaded Germany time after time, Saxony suffering especially from their ravages. Sigismund did his best to carry on the war against them, but in the fifteenth century the military and financial resources of a German king were very small indeed, and it was not until 1430, when Frederick of Brandenburg, having taken the lead, made a truce with them, that there was any real respite from their attacks, and not until 1438, when they were defeated by the elector of Saxony, that there was an end to them.

In various ways Sigismund tried to obtain assistance for his wars, and incidentally to give a more efficient government to Germany. We have seen how, by selling Brandenburg and Saxony, he obtained help from two wealthy princes, the *nouveaux riches* of their time, and

he also bought the aid of Albert of Austria, later King Albert II.; but it did not require much political acumen to see that this system was a vicious one and must be a short-lived one. In 1415 the king put forward certain proposals for securing the country's peace. He suggested a league of towns under his own headship for the purpose, and when this was flouted he proposed a union of the towns and the smaller landholders, who should be divided into four districts, each under a captain responsible for the maintenance of the peace. Sigismund was most persistent in trying to overcome the many objections to this and similar plans, but he failed utterly, the final blow being the determined hostility of the electors, who saw their position threatened by an alliance between the king and the towns. At the diet of Nuremberg in 1422 he endeavoured to persuade the estates to supply him with men and money for the Hussite war; but, although the assembly decided upon the number of men which each state must contribute, no serious assistance was forthcoming. Again, in 1427, at the diet of Frankfort, an elaborate scheme for raising money was put forward; but this, too, fell to the ground, owing to the want of a national spirit and to the jealousies between the several orders. In 1431, at Nuremberg, there was a similar failure. It was decided to prosecute the war, but the different states and cities declined to pay their share of the cost. In 1433 and 1434 the Emperor—for Sigismund had been crowned at Rome in May, 1433—and the princes again discussed the question of administrative reform, and sixteen articles were drawn up for securing peace, improving the coinage, and introducing other reforms, but with this the matter ended. Similarly, his negotiations with the towns, in 1425 and again in 1431, had been resultless of good.

Meanwhile the electors, a small body, and now accus-

tomed to act together, were becoming more powerful. They showed a distinct desire to take a more active part in the government of Germany, and although the union which, in 1424, they formed at Bingen did not have the desired end, they moved gradually towards their goal. Very soon they took up an attitude of hostility towards Sigismund, who, however, had for a time two friends among them in Frederick of Saxony and Frederick of Brandenburg. He, however, offended Frederick of Brandenburg a few years later, and this prince was the leader of the band which sought during the concluding years of the reign to control the Emperor's actions, and to some extent to govern the land independently of him.

When Sigismund died without sons in 1437, the electors chose as his successor his son-in-law, Albert of Habsburg. Albert's reign was a short one, as he was only chosen in March, 1438, and in October, 1439, he died, having been able to do little more than indicate his good intentions. He put forward a scheme for the better administration of justice and the maintenance of order, features of which were the division of the land into districts or circles and the establishment of an imperial court of appeal; but the towns, fearing a diminution of their privileges, were hostile, and it came to nought. After a little hesitation he followed the lead of the electors in declaring himself neutral in the dispute between Pope Eugenius IV. and the Council of Basel.

The real importance of Albert's reign, however, is found in the fact that with him the dominance of the Habsburgs in Germany really began. Thenceforward every German king belonged to this family. Each was elected, but the hereditary principle gained ground at the expense of the elective one until the election was a form only. Albert was also king of Hungary and of Bohemia, and since his day, with the exception of certain



A GERMAN STANDARD-BEARER OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

From a print in the British Museum

years of storm, those countries have been part of the lands ruled by the Habsburgs, first as elective, and then as hereditary kings.

Albert's successor was his cousin Frederick, chosen early in 1440, during his absence from Germany. With his brother, another Albert, he was already ruler of part of Austria, of Styria and of Carinthia; and when a posthumous son, called Ladislaus, was born to the late king, he became, as his guardian, ruler of the other parts of Austria, of Bohemia, and of Hungary.

We have spoken already of the growing impotence of the German kings, and have seen it illustrated during the reigns of Wenceslaus and Sigismund, especially the latter, whose untiring energy and perseverance could do nothing whatever to revive the royal power. In the reign of Frederick this impotence reached a climax, and he was the perfect *roi fainéant*. Less ambitious or more opportunist, he, unlike Sigismund, hardly made an attempt to govern the land of which he was the chosen king, occupying his time with the business of the hereditary possessions of his family, and with studies in astrology and genealogy.

The quarrel in the Church was still raging, and at first the electors tried to persuade Frederick, as they had persuaded Albert, to take up a neutral attitude; but about 1446 the unity with which they had hitherto acted was destroyed, and in 1448 the king promised to Pope Eugenius the obedience of the German people. Meanwhile the disorder in the country was increasing. The rivalries between the cities and the princes were becoming fiercer than ever; Bohemia, Austria, and the other Habsburg duchies were in a state of turmoil; and, amid it all, a new and terrible foe, the Turk, who in 1453 captured Constantinople, was discernible in the distance. About the same time the king was engaged in a quarrel with the

stubborn Swiss, and it is not surprising that he was unable to prevent Hungary, the kingdom of his ward Ladislaus, from passing under the authority of the king of Poland. In 1444 he met the diet at Nuremberg, but no assistance was forthcoming from the estates; and Frederick resolved never to attend another meeting of this body, and during the remainder of his long reign he never did.

During these years the local wars were many and serious. For commercial reasons Otto of Lüneburg was fighting the townsmen of Hanover; Bishop Eric of Osnabrück was at war with the citizens of that place; two powerful families were quarrelling for the possession of the bishopric of Würzburg; and in Bavaria there was strife between the duke and his son. The most considerable of these civil wars, however, was one in Swabia and Franconia between the cities and the princes. In 1446 a league of cities for the protection of the highways was renewed, thirty-one towns, under the leadership of Nuremberg, giving their support to it.

Soon disputes and skirmishes broke out with various princes, caused by the conflicting claims of the various courts of justice, the payment of tolls, the robbery of travelling merchants, and other matters. Among the princes the lead was taken by Albert Achilles, afterwards elector of Brandenburg, and in 1449 a regular warfare began, which was carried on by both sides with great ferocity. The towns were handicapped to some extent because they relied partly on mercenaries, and when peace was made in 1453 Nuremberg and her allies paid an indemnity to Albert.

Even an enumeration of the other quarrels then in progress is impossible, but the prevailing state of affairs may be illustrated by the action of the archbishop of Mainz in attacking the citizens of Halle because they had rooted out a nest of robbers who were under the prelate's

protection, and by two civil wars in the north-west, one for the possession of the town of Soest, and the other for the bishopric of Munster. Each lasted for several years, and attracted to one side or the other practically all the potentates, both lay and clerical, of the neighbourhood.

It is not surprising that under these conditions people were very dissatisfied with their king, for, in spite of the experience of the past century, the idea was still general that he was their rightful protector against outrage and disorder; and after Frederick, who was crowned Emperor in 1452, had returned from Italy in 1453, his deposition was discussed by the princes. There were several strong candidates for his position, but no one of them was generally acceptable, and the matter dropped.

Foreign powers soon began to take advantage of Germany's weakness. Luxemburg and the possessions of the Wittelsbach family in the Netherlands were seized by Duke Philip of Burgundy, who made good his authority therein after some years of fighting. West Prussia, which owed its prosperity to the colonizing work of the Teutonic Order, passed under the authority of Poland, and therein all further extension of German influence was stopped; while the king of Denmark quietly took possession of Schleswig and Holstein.

These districts—or, rather, those which were already so—remained part of the Roman Empire, but by passing under the rule of a foreign sovereign, such as the duke of Burgundy or the king of Denmark, they made him a prince of the empire, and thus gave him a right to attend the diet and to interfere in Germany's internal affairs, a proceeding bound to be harmful in the long-run.

In the east of the country the position was even worse. After the death of King Ladislaus in 1457 both Hungary and Bohemia passed away from the Habsburgs, their new

kings being Matthias Corvinus and George Podebrad. Both attacked the duchies under Frederick's rule, and Matthias succeeded in depriving the Emperor of them. In 1485 the citizens of Vienna recognized him as their lord, and he made this city his capital, and by 1487 the whole of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia was in his hands.



EUROPE IN 1470.

Amid these losses Frederick clung tenaciously to his honours, and in 1473 he refused to diminish them by making Burgundy into an independent kingdom for Charles the Bold. The extent of his authority, however, was shown after Charles was killed in 1477, when the king of France, without any serious opposition, seized his lands, which formed part of the German kingdom. The Emperor showed the same tenacity in 1486, when he

objected to the election of his son Maximilian as king of the Romans and future Emperor; but by this time no one paid much attention to his desires, and the young prince was chosen, his supporters hoping to find in him an effective ruler. With this event Frederick's reign, for all practical purposes, came to an end, although he retained his imperial titles until his death in August, 1493.

Under Maximilian the fortunes of Germany began to mend. The task which faced him in 1486 was one of appalling size and difficulty, but he had already given evidence of unusual capacity and resource. For him his father had arranged a marriage with Mary, the heiress of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, but this had not taken place when Charles was killed at Nancy in 1477, and Louis XI. of France at once seized a good part of the inheritance of his daughter. Maximilian hurried to Ghent, where his marriage was celebrated, and set to work to defend his wife's dominions, which included not only Burgundy, but the greater part of the Netherlands. He had met with some success when in 1482 Mary died, and he must perforce assent to an arrangement which gave Artois and Burgundy to France. The other part of her lands were ruled by Maximilian on behalf of his infant son Philip, but he was very unpopular in the Netherlands, and he was struggling against heavy odds when he was chosen king of the Romans in 1486.

As king Maximilian's first exploits were in and near the Netherlands. He made war on France, but this proceeding was disliked very much by the trading interests in the Flemish and Dutch cities, and for three months he was a prisoner in the hands of the citizens of Bruges, being only released when the Emperor and the German princes, alive to the ignominy of their king's position, collected an army to succour him. He promised to leave the Netherlands immediately, but this undertaking was

not carried out. Instead, he spent about a year in warring against his late captors and their associates.

It was at this time, when the Emperor was old and inert, and his son, the Roman king, was occupied in the Netherlands, that the great Swabian League of 1488 was formed. The cities of Swabia had suffered greatly from the general anarchy, and had already formed associations for mutual protection, but this League was on a much bigger scale. In addition to twenty-two free cities, its original members were Sigismund of Austria, Eberhard, count of Württemberg, two princes with large interests in that part of Germany, and an association of knights, or smaller landholders. It had a constitution, consisting of a governing council and a court of justice, and it set on foot an army of thirteen thousand men to keep order in Swabia. Other princes and cities soon joined it, and so did the four Rhenish electors—the three archbishops, and the count palatine—and during the reigns of Maximilian and Charles V. it did good work in keeping order, and thus discharging the duties which the king and the diet were unwilling or unable to perform.

In 1489 Maximilian set to work to relieve Germany from her foes. Having made peace with France and become count of Tirol, he turned his attention to the east, where his task was rendered easier by the death of the able Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus, in 1490. The Hungarians were driven from Austria, and Vienna, the Habsburg capital, was recovered; and although the victor did not secure the crown of Hungary, as he hoped, he made with Ladislaus, the successor of Matthias, the treaty of Pressburg (1492), which assured to him the succession in case that king left no male issue. In the same year he defeated the Turks, and he had just recovered Artois and French Comté from France when his father's death left him the sole ruler of Germany.

CHAPTER XII

MAXIMILIAN AND THE EARLY YEARS OF CHARLES V.

MAXIMILIAN, who became sole ruler of Germany in 1493, is a most interesting personality. He has been called the "last of the knights," for he lived at the time when the Middle and the Modern Ages met, when gunpowder and printing were beginning to make such stupendous changes in the world, and when the institution of chivalry was dying. A soldier and also a scholar, interested both in tournaments and books, showing skill as a linguist and as a huntsman, he is representative of both ages.

When Maximilian was chosen king in 1486, his selectors hoped that he would do something to reform the rusty machinery of government, and would prosecute with greater success the reforming ideas of Sigismund. He appeared willing to put his hand to the work, and about 1489 he seems to have definitely promised the princes that he would do so; but a little later he became indifferent, if not actually hostile, to the cause of reform. The change may have been due to a reluctance to take any steps which might curtail his kingly powers, or to the many demands upon his time and attention. At all events, after Frederick's death in 1493, the reforming princes ceased to expect leadership from his son. They pressed on, however, with their ideas, and found a very able leader in Berthold, archbishop of Mainz.

In 1495 the diet met at Worms, and Maximilian asked the members for aid in men and money to fight both the

French and the Turks. In reply, Berthold and his friends put forward certain proposals for reform. The king refused to agree to the establishment of a council empowered to veto his actions, but he consented to the proclamation of an eternal land-peace, and to annual meetings of the diet. More important was the creation of an imperial court of justice, the *Reichskammergericht*. Its sixteen members were nominated by the estates and its president by the king, and its duties were to decide cases between the princes, and to act as the supreme court of appeal with regard to suits affecting less important persons. A tax, called the common penny, was levied to provide Maximilian with money and to pay the expenses of this new court.

It was easy, however, to vote the payment of the common penny, but difficult to collect it, and as a source of revenue it proved a failure. The *Reichskammergericht*, too, encountered difficulties. The king disliked it, and to restrain its activities he declared that his privy council, the *Hofrat*, had authority to deal with all the business of the empire, and not, as hitherto, only with that affecting his own hereditary lands. The difficulties of the *Reichskammergericht* may be illustrated by a modern parallel. An international court of arbitration has been established at the Hague, but its authority and its sphere of activity are very vague, and necessarily so. There is as yet no force beyond a nebulous public opinion to compel a power to submit its case to this tribunal, or to compel obedience to its decisions. But the court is not, therefore, of no value. It is a standing witness to the fact that there is a less costly way of settling disputes than by fighting over them, and every decision that it gives, if endorsed as fair by public opinion, makes it more respected, and thus more powerful. *Mutatis mutandis*, these remarks apply to the *Reichskammergericht*.



P. Home.

THE TOMB OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I. AT INNSBRUCK.

In the centre, above the tomb, is the effigy of the Emperor, and ranged between the pillars on either side are the famous series of bronze figures representing the greatest kings and queens of Europe.

In 1499 the king experienced a distinct humiliation from the Swiss, and this encouraged Berthold and his friends, when the diet met at Augsburg in 1500, to renew their demands for reform, as a reply to the usual request for aid. A scheme for furnishing an army of thirty thousand men was approved. This, however, was not placed under the command of the king, but under that of a prince named by the diet. Moreover, an administrative council, called the *Reichsregiment*, was established. The ordinary members of this body, twenty in number, were chosen by the princes and the cities, while the president was to be named by the king. Its work was practically that of governing Germany, and its formation amounted, as the Venetian envoy said, to nothing less than the deposition of Maximilian, who only assented to it under the compulsion of events. The *Reichsregiment* began its career by negotiating for peace with France, but Maximilian soon paralyzed its activities by refusing to name a president and by ignoring its existence generally. He also attempted to sow discord among the electors, but as long as Berthold—who died in 1504—lived his success in this direction was only partial. However, within two years of the diet of Augsburg, both the *Reichskammergericht* and the *Reichsregiment* existed on paper only.

In 1505 the diet of Cologne supplied Maximilian with funds for an expedition into Hungary, the necessary sum being raised by the old plan of a levy on the estates ; and at Constance in 1507 a similar measure was again adopted. In 1507, also, the *Reichskammergericht* was restored, and took a more permanent form, and in 1512 the country was divided into ten circles. A captain was placed over each and was entrusted with the duty of enforcing its decisions. This excellent scheme, however, never came into full working order.

Maximilian was a great international figure, but occasionally he remembered that he was German king. The Swiss cantons, although they had thrown off the yoke of the Habsburgs, were still part of the empire and subject to its laws; nevertheless, after the diet of 1495, they refused either to pay the common penny or to obey the new *Reichskammergericht.* The king tried to subdue them, but, like his ancestors, he failed, and he was compelled to agree to the treaty of Basel, by which the Swiss were for all practical purposes freed from the authority of the German king. Nominally they remained part of the empire until 1648.

In 1504 Maximilian interfered in a civil war, which arose over the possession of the duchy of Bavaria-Landshut. Here he was quite successful. He defeated a Bohemian army which marched to help the Bavarian prince who had defied him, and when peace was made he added a part of the disputed territory to his own hereditary lands. Twice he led his troops into Gelderland, where a rebellious duke needed chastisement; and in 1506 he invaded Hungary to safeguard his interests therein, which were threatened by the growth of a national spirit.

Maximilian spent a good deal of time in Italy, first attempting to check the French advance, then in alliance with that power seeking to despoil the Republic of Venice, and finally as a member of a league for driving the French from the country. In 1508, unable to reach Rome, he took the unusual step of declaring himself Roman Emperor, and after his time the German kings were no longer crowned by the Pope, but each assumed the title of Emperor as soon as he was elected king. The king is credited with the fantastic desire to secure his own election as Pope about 1511, and thus to unite in his person the two highest dignities in the Christian world.

Maximilian's career in Italy ended when he made with France the treaty of Brussels in December, 1516. He died two years later (January 12, 1519), and between the two events he held diets at Mainz and at Augsburg, and at both heard something of the futility of the reforms which had been inaugurated. The establishment of a satisfactory system of government for Germany seemed, in fact, as far off as ever.

The successor of Maximilian was his grandson Charles, known as the Emperor Charles V. For him a great inheritance had been prepared. His father Philip was dead, and as his grandfather's heir he inherited Austria and the associated duchies, while as the grandson of Mary of Burgundy he was already ruler of Burgundy and the Netherlands. But this was not all. His mother was Joanna, the mad daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and through her he had become king of Spain after Ferdinand's death in 1516, and as king of Spain he was ruler of the rich countries of the New World given by Columbus to Castile and Aragon.

Such, on Maximilian's death, was the position of Charles. He was not as yet, however, German king—a dignity which now carried with, it without further formalities, the title and powers of Holy Roman Emperor. To secure this he must be elected, and he encountered a strong rival in Francis I. of France. The contest aroused extraordinary interest. As early as 1517 Francis had sounded at least three of the electors, and at one time his success seemed highly probable. Pope Leo X. and Cardinal Wolsey took the liveliest interest in the struggle, and as the day of election drew nearer the electors were deluged with presents and promises. To the last the issue seemed uncertain, but when they met in June, 1519, Charles was chosen German king, his victory being due in large measure to the support of Frederick, elector

of Saxony, who had refused to be a candidate himself and also to accept bribes.

With this event the Middle Ages have really been left behind. We are now in the modern world, one of invention and progress, one in which trade was stimulated by the flow of silver from America, and learning by the dispersal of the libraries of Constantinople and the zeal of Italian scholars. It will be well, therefore, at this point to give some idea of the extent of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century. On the north and west it included Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, in addition to one or two other districts now part of France, as well as all the country which on this side is now in the German Empire. On the south and east it included Austria and Bohemia, its boundary reaching almost to Cracow. In this kingdom the Emperor ruled, not nominally, as over Germany generally, but as their actual sovereign, over Austria, Carinthia, Styria, and Tirol. Bohemia, to which Moravia, Lusatia, and Silesia were attached, was a kingdom, ruled after 1521 by Charles's brother Ferdinand, who in that year married its heiress. The archbishop of Cologne ruled a large district stretching along the Rhine, mainly on its left bank, and also into Westphalia; the archbishops of Mainz and Trier ruled districts around those two cities, and the former, in addition, was lord of Erfurt in Thuringia. In the north the elector of Brandenburg had a large and growing country, and along the Upper Elbe, around Dresden, was that of the elector of Saxony. The remaining elector, the count palatine, ruled a territory on the Rhine below Mainz, the capital of which was Heidelberg.

In addition to these electorates there was Bavaria, divided into portions for two, three, or four dukes; Württemberg, earlier known as Swabia, under its duke; Luxemburg under its count; and Hesse under its land-



MONUMENT OF RUDOLF VON SCHERENBERG, PRINCE BISHOP OF WÜRZBURG (d. 1495).

Holding a sword in his right hand and a crozier in his left.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



WITTENBERG.
From an engraving of 1546.

grave; while from one end of the country to the other there were numerous counts—Nassau, Lippe, Anhalt, and the rest. Other territories, corresponding roughly to the area called by the same name to-day, were Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Brunswick, each under a ruler of its own Still to be mentioned are the prince bishops and the free cities. Magdeburg, Salzburg, Munster, Bamberg, Würzburg, Utrecht, and Liège were each the centre of a strong principality governed by a bishop, with a court and an army of his own; and the same may be said of Fulda, Hersfeld, and other principalities governed by abbots. Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Frankfort, Strassburg, Regensburg, and Basel are only a few out of a large number of Free Cities whose only lord was the Emperor; and there were a number of free imperial knights, a class especially numerous in Franconia.

The great event of this reign was the Reformation. On November 1, 1517, All Saints' Day, Luther had nailed his famous document to the door of a church in the Saxon town of Wittenberg. In this he denied the power of the Pope to sell indulgences. Interest and controversy were aroused, and the question was a burning one in Germany when Charles, having been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1520, called together the diet at Worms. By this time Luther had defended his position in a public discussion with a celebrated scholar, Johann Eck, had been excommunicated by the Pope, and had just openly burned the papal bull. Great, therefore, was the eagerness to see how the new Emperor would treat this daring reformer. Any doubts were soon laid to rest. There was no reason why Charles should desert the Church and make an enemy of the Pope, and, consequently, he issued an edict, drawn up by Cardinal Aleandro, denouncing Luther and his followers, and placing them under the imperial ban. This step was approved

by the diet, while Luther, who had attended and defended himself there, was carried off to the security of the castle of the Wartburg by his friend and ruler, Frederick, elector of Saxony.

The affair of Luther was not the only business before this diet. The administrative reforms of Maximilian had failed, and something was wanted to give to Germany the



DR. MARTIN LUTHER.
From a woodcut of the painting by Lucas Cranach.

blessing of orderly government. In return for support at the time of his election, Charles had made certain promises to the electors, and these were contained in what was known as a *Wahlkapitulation*, "the election surrender," as it may be called. As the Germans regarded him as a foreigner—a Spaniard—he was obliged in this to under-

take to use the German language, and always to call the diet together in Germany; he was not to bring foreign troops into the country, or to place a foreigner over German ones. He also promised to establish a new *Reichsregiment*, and the diet discussed with him the form which this should take. Eventually it was agreed that it should consist of twenty-two members, and that its first president should be the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand. It was, however, only to govern Germany when the sovereign was absent; at other times it was merely to advise him. The *Reichskammergericht* was rescued from decay, and the estates raised money to pay for an army which Charles required for his Italian expedition.

The prevailing discontent was thus confined to ecclesiastical matters. It had extended to secular ones. It was an age of change. The standards and conditions of life were altering, and, just as at the present day, the process was causing considerable hardship. Trouble came first from the free imperial knights, the *Ritterschaft*, men whose main occupation was warfare, and who had, therefore, no place in the new social order. Jealous of the princes, these men combined under two very able leaders —Ulrich von Hutten, the friend of Luther, and Franz von Sickingen—and attacked the elector of Trier. The *Reichsregiment*—for Charles was away in Spain—did nothing, but Philip, landgrave of Hesse and some other princes of the neighbourhood, collected an army, and in May, 1523, Sickingen was defeated and killed.

More serious was the next rising. The grievances of the German peasants were very real, and their condition was growing worse and worse. They were at the base of the state, and every burden placed upon it was borne sooner or later by them. No one was particularly interested in protecting them from plunder and extortion, and, the stream of migration having stopped, there was



LUTHER'S ROOM AT THE WARTBURG.

no outlet for their increasing numbers. There had been several isolated risings by them in the previous century, and between 1500 and 1510 there were some in the south-west of the country, the movement being called the *Bundschuh*, or bound shoe, as a shoe fastened to a pole was their standard. In 1514 Württemberg was disturbed by a rising under "poor Conrad," but all these risings were crushed fairly easily by the princes who were affected by them.

The Peasants' War, as the great revolt which succeeded these smaller ones is called, began at Stühlingen in Württemberg in 1522, and soon spread over the central and southern parts of Germany. Württemberg, it should be explained, had been in a very sorry condition for some time past. An extravagant ruler, Ulrich, whose actions had contributed to the rising of "poor Conrad," had, about 1520, been driven from the duchy by the Swabian League and the duke of Bavaria, and Württemberg had been sold by them to the Emperor, who had entrusted it to his brother Ferdinand. Anxious to recover it, Ulrich joined the insurgents, whose demands for the removal of new burdens and for the restoration of their ancient rights of hunting and fishing were conceded by some of the princes of the Rhineland. Meanwhile Thuringia was in revolt. Under Thomas Münzer the rebels gained several successes, but they became so destructive that Luther declared against them, and Philip of Hesse collected an army to put an end to the movement. Münzer and his followers were beaten at Frankhausen. The Swabian League was employing its forces against the insurgents, and soon the rising was crushed everywhere. The peasants had gained a few concessions, but the real benefits of the rebellion were secured by the princes.

By this time the *Reichsregiment* was dead. The country was occupied with the Reformation, which was making

great progress. The edict of 1521 against the reformers remained a dead letter, but the opponents of the new movement, led by Ferdinand and Cardinal Campeggio, met at Regensburg and arranged to take strong measures to crush it. Several rich cities, however, were decidedly of a contrary opinion, and their representatives met together and agreed to act together for the protection and encouragement of the reformed faith. The princes grouped themselves into two leagues for defensive purposes, the Roman Catholic ones meeting at Dessau in 1525, and the reforming ones at Gotha in 1526. With Charles still in Spain, the diet met at Spires in 1526, and the parties were fairly equal in number. The result was that the only agreement reached was not that the edict of Worms should be put into operation and the reformers suppressed, as the Emperor in a letter asked, but that, pending the assembly of a national council, each prince should arrange the ecclesiastical affairs of his state in accordance with his own opinions.

For three years this decree was acted upon—at least by the reformers. In the states where their ideas prevailed—among them, the three lay electorates of Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate, Hesse, and the cities of Strassburg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Ulm—the Church was reformed under the direction of Luther and Melanchthon, its services being revised in accordance with their ideas, and in many cases its estates were seized by the princes. The strength of the reforming movement was apparent to all, but the weakness which was to paralyze it now also became evident. Doctrinal differences arose between the followers of Luther and those of the Swiss reformer, Zwingli, and soon, wherever possible, the one party was persecuting those attached to the other for heresy. The division between the two was, roughly speaking, a geographical one. Luther retained his influ-

ence in Saxony, Brandenburg, and North Germany generally, while Zwingli's doctrines prevailed in the south-west.

In 1529 the diet met again at Spires, where the reformers were much weaker than in 1526. The decree issued by it forbade further religious changes, and refused to grant toleration to Lutherans in the states ruled by their opponents. The reforming princes drew up a protest against this decision, and to this action their name of Protestant is due. Later in the same year a conference between the two branches of the reformers was held at Marburg. Here theologians argued and disputed, but it was soon seen that there was no possibility of union.

Such were the prevailing conditions when Charles returned to Germany in 1530. The diet met this year at Augsburg. The Lutherans presented him with a summary of their doctrines, called the Confession of Augsburg, to which four Zwinglian cities replied with one of their own. Charles, however, would not listen to the doctrinal argument. He regarded it as necessary that the Protestant movement should be crushed, and, although he could not force the reforming princes to submit, he had no difficulty in securing the issue of a decree giving them seven months in which to return to the Roman Church. The execution of the edict of Worms and the restoration of Church property were also commanded, and the *Reichskammergericht* was to see that these orders were carried out.

The decree against the Protestants was being carried out, and some of them were preparing to resist it by force. In 1530 the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse made an alliance with the cities of Bremen and Magdeburg. This was joined by other cities, and became soon the important League of Schmalkalden. It organized a

military force, and made itself still more dangerous to the Emperor when it entered into negotiations with Francis I. of France. However, the danger from the Turks, who were preparing to invade Hungary, rendered Charles circumspect. At the diet of Regensburg in 1532 he could not persuade the Romanists to make concessions to their foes, but a little later he himself concluded with the Protestants the religious peace of Nuremberg, by which they obtained toleration, temporary at first, but repeatedly confirmed.

The Emperor's failure to grapple with the religious situation in Germany was largely due to his engagements abroad. He had a foreign policy, which may be summed up as hostility to France, to pursue, and in this the several countries over which he ruled were involved. In 1521 war between him and France broke out in Italy, where his troops gained some signal successes, but these became insignificant after the defeat of the French at Pavia (February 24, 1525) and the capture of Francis. In the treaty signed at Madrid in 1526 Francis renounced his claims on Italy, Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois; but soon after his release he repudiated the engagement, because it had been extorted from him by force. About the same time Pope Clement VII. turned against Charles, and the result was the formation of a Holy League, the members of which were the Papacy, France, Venice, Florence, and Milan. Again the Emperor was victorious. In May, 1527, his troops captured Rome; in 1529 he made peace with the Pope, and a little later with France. It was after these events that he found leisure to visit Germany and to attend the diet of Augsburg.

On the other side of Europe the Turks were threatening Germany. The work of resisting their advance fell mainly upon the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, to whom, in 1521, Charles had transferred Austria and the asso-

ciated duchies, or archduchies as they really were. This was not Ferdinand's only interest in the east. His wife was Anna, daughter of Ladislaus of Hungary and Bohemia, and in 1526 the Turks defeated and killed her brother, the childless Louis II., at the battle of Mohacs. Ferdinand claimed the two thrones, and was chosen king of Hungary at Pressburg in 1526; but a certain John Zapolya, who was in alliance with Francis of France, was also chosen, and he was recognized in the greater part of the country. In 1526, also, Ferdinand was chosen king of Bohemia, where he experienced less difficulty in making good his claim.

Zapolya had not been crushed when, in 1529, the Sultan of Turkey advanced into Hungary with a large army, and, meeting with no opposition from Zapolya, reached Vienna. His advance created great consternation in Germany, and encouraged Venice and Milan to renew the war against Charles in Italy, but Protestants and Catholics alike prepared to march against him. However, a great national movement was unnecessary, as the citizens of Vienna defended themselves so manfully that in less than a month the Turks had abandoned the enterprise and were in full retreat.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION

HAVING in 1532 concluded with the Protestants the religious peace of Nuremberg, Charles V. again left Germany, never a congenial home for him; while the reformed religion made substantial progress, especially in Pomerania and Anhalt and in the cities of Frankfort and Augsburg, and its princes declared that they would not accept the decisions of the *Reichskammergericht*. Of these princes the most energetic was Philip of Hesse, and about this time he secured a notable victory for Protestantism by restoring the expelled Ulrich to his duchy of Württemberg. Ulrich was a convert to the new faith, and as soon as he was again in authority he did his best to make his country a Protestant one by altering the religious services and depriving the Church of much of its land. King Ferdinand, the nominal ruler of Württemberg, was too much occupied to prevent these changes, and by the treaty of Cadan in 1534 he recognized Ulrich as duke, reserving to himself only a certain vague superiority.

Already further divisions were showing themselves among the Protestants. A sect called the Anabaptists, strong in the Low Countries, had adherents in the city of Munster. Their teaching won adherents, and in a short time the government of the city was in their hands. An attack delivered by the bishop of Munster and his allies was beaten off by the fanatics, but the prelate, having obtained aid from the German diet and aided by an out-

break of famine in the city, succeeded in taking it in June, 1535. He then restored Roman Catholicism, expelled the Anabaptists, and brought back the citizens whom they had driven out. About the same time the burgomaster, Jürgen Wullenweber, established a more democratic government in Lübeck, but, like the Anabaptists in Munster, he failed to make this permanent.

The next organized advance made by Protestantism, as opposed to these sporadic movements, was the enlargement of the League of Schmalkalden. The moment was favourable, for the Emperor was again involved in wars with France and Turkey. In 1536 the French attacked his possessions in Italy, and, encouraged by them, the Turks in 1537 invaded Croatia and defeated Ferdinand's troops at Essek. Meanwhile the League had agreed upon a renewal for ten years, and had received a number of new members, among them the rulers of Württemberg, Anhalt, and Pomerania, and the cities of Frankfort, Augsburg, and Hamburg. A little later it was joined by King Christian of Denmark. About the same time (May, 1536) Martin Bucer, the theologian, persuaded the Lutherans and the Zwinglians to come to terms, and a confession of faith called the concord of Wittenberg was signed by the representatives of both parties.

The idea of settling the existing doctrinal disputes by submitting them to a general council of the Church was brought to a head by Pope Paul III. After he had sent a legate to discuss the matter with Luther, he summoned a council to Mantua, and to this the Lutherans were specially invited. The League of Schmalkalden, however, decided against the proposed council, and no result followed the discussions between its members and the Emperor's envoy, Matthias Held, who showed himself less conciliatory to the Protestants than the Emperor had instructed him to be. To counter the aggressive atti-

tude of the Protestants, Held succeeded in forming at Nuremberg in 1538 a league of Roman Catholic princes, among them being King Ferdinand, the rulers of Bavaria and Brunswick, and George, duke of Saxony.

Charles himself, disappointed when he heard that the Protestants were still obdurate, tried again, and this time with more success. By an arrangement made at Frankfort in 1539 he promised them freedom from the vexatious decisions of the *Reichskammergericht* for eighteen months, and declared he hoped to arrange a lasting peace before the end of that period; also the objections of the Protestants to a council were upheld. A stroke of fortune came to the reformers in the same year. Duke George of Saxony, a strong Romanist, died, and his successor, Henry, was an equally strong Protestant. Under his rule the duchy of Saxony, which must be distinguished from the electorate, became in every way Protestant, and, under Joachim II., Brandenburg was influenced in the same direction. In 1539 the elector and his court took the communion according to Lutheran rites, and this example was widely followed, not only in Brandenburg, but in Brunswick, and even in the electorate of Mainz. Except one part of Brunswick, the whole of North Germany was now Protestant, and this faith was not without powerful adherents in the south.

In 1542 the Emperor was again at war with France and Turkey, the two generally attacking him together. While this was in progress the League of Schmalkalden drove the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, an isolated Roman Catholic ruler, from his duchy, and soon made it a Protestant land. About the same time the citizens of Regensburg formally accepted the reformed teaching, and, more important still, an archbishop, Hermann von Wied, elector of Mainz, and William, duke of Gelderland, proclaimed themselves converts to it. Hermann did not



FREDERICK III., THE WISE, ELECTOR OF SAXONY (1463-1525).

Founder of the University of Wittenberg and protector of Luther.

give up his high position of archbishop and elector; instead, he ruled his lands as a temporal, and no longer as an ecclesiastical prince, while encouraging Bucer and Melanchthon to spread Protestant teaching among his subjects. It was an example which was to be widely followed during the next hundred years.



PHILIP MELANCHTHON.
After a woodcut by Albert Dürer.

The Protestants now seemed triumphant everywhere. The movement known as the Counter Reformation was, however, at hand, and its progress was hastened by quarrels among the Protestant leaders. Philip of Hesse had, some years before, tired of his Saxon wife and contracted another marriage, after having persuaded Luther

and Melanchthon to declare that bigamy was permitted by the Scriptures. In return these divines, evidently rather ashamed of this opinion, requested him to keep the second marriage secret; but about 1540 it became known, and Philip's friends began to look askance at him. More than this, it seemed likely that his many enemies would make it an occasion for attacking him, and, fearing this, he, in 1541, made peace with Charles V., promising him support in return for a general pardon. This did not prevent him, however, from leading the forces of the League against Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.

While these events were occurring in Germany, and while futile conferences between the leaders of the two religious parties were being held, the Emperor was prosecuting his wars. To the expenses of these the diets contributed little, but in 1544 aid was secured from the Protestants by liberal promises to them. However, this was no sooner obtained than Charles signed with Francis, in September, 1544, the treaty of Crèpy, and a year later he made peace with Turkey.

During the war, in 1543, the Emperor had found time to deal with William of Gelderland, whose duchy had been taken from him and added to the lands of the Habsburgs, and now it was over he was prepared to deal equally drastically with other princes who had defied and thwarted him. Foremost among these were the heads of the League of Schmalkalden, and preparatory to attacking them some of their associates were quietly detached from their allegiance.

Charles found his chief ally for the intended campaign in the ambitious and able Maurice of Saxony. Although a Protestant, Maurice, who ruled the duchy of Saxony, was not on good terms with his kinsman, John Frederick, elector of Saxony; and when the Emperor promised to transfer the Saxon electorate to him, the offer was too

tempting to be refused. While these secret negotiations were proceeding, John Frederick and Philip of Hesse, the commanders of the League's troops, were inactive, and John Frederick, at least, was undisturbed by the rumours which reached him. Philip was more suspicious, and in 1546, while the diet was sitting at Regensburg and before Charles was quite ready, the troops of the League were collected, and in a few weeks (July, 1546) the war began. In October Maurice, having made all the necessary preparations, suddenly invaded electoral Saxony—a move which compelled John Frederick to forsake his friends in South Germany and to hurry home.

The Emperor was now successful everywhere. Not only did Strassburg and other Lutheran cities submit to him, but so did the rulers of Württemberg and the Rhenish Palatinate. He forced Hermann of Wied to resign his archbishopric, and restored Henry to Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and then crowned all by defeating the Saxon army at Mühlberg in April, 1547. John Frederick was taken prisoner and a little later Philip surrendered.

The transformation was marvellous, and Charles now began to work his will. Having kept his word with Maurice, who was made elector of Saxony, he called the diet to Augsburg in 1547. Here some administrative reforms were proposed and adopted, the chief concerning the relations of the Netherlands and Germany. To bring this district into harmony with the rest of the Empire an eleventh circle—the Burgundian—was formed, comprising Gelderland, Flanders, Artois, and the lands which Charles had inherited through his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy. These provinces were not made subject to imperial laws, but they paid the imperial taxes and in return received the imperial protection. Before the diet met, the council, talked about for so long, had been called to Trent and removed, owing to the fears of the Pope, to

Bologna. This transfer from German to Italian soil displeased Charles, and a quarrel took place between the two potentates—one, however, which was advantageous to the Emperor, as it enabled him to order the religious affairs of his Empire without consulting the Pope or regarding the council.

The Confession of Faith which Charles issued for all his German subjects was called the *Interim*. It was a compromise between two warring creeds, and it is not surprising that it pleased neither party. The taking of the communion in both kinds and the marriage of priests were permitted, but the doctrine of transubstantiation was affirmed, and the seven sacraments were retained. The Roman Catholics resisted its application so strenuously that eventually it was declared only binding upon the Protestants, many of whom also objected to it as soon as it was put into force, and in certain cases they only adopted it after being threatened with the imperial vengeance in the shape of a visit from Spanish soldiers. Forcible measures were really taken against at least two recalcitrant cities, Constance and Augsburg, and resistance was also experienced in Hesse and Württemberg. In North Germany the dislike of the *Interim* was even stronger, and *force majeure* more difficult to employ. The elector of Brandenburg refused to accept it, and the big towns were equally determined. Magdeburg, placed under the imperial ban, was captured by Maurice of Saxony; but this astute prince refused to force the *Interim* upon his own Saxony, drawing up instead for it one of his own, the Leipzig *Interim*. In truth, the Augsburg *Interim* was a complete failure. It was an attempt to reconcile two irreconcilable beliefs, and its want of success showed clearly that between Roman Catholics and Protestants there was fixed a great gulf, which could not be bridged even by a powerful Emperor,



J. Rischgitz.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF MÜHLBERG.

From the painting by Titian at Madrid.

although his aim was not doctrinal victory but political unity.

Charles had now crushed his foes, and, as far as Germany was concerned, was more powerful than he had ever been before. For long it had been understood that his successor in Germany would be his brother Ferdinand, a German, and not his son Philip, a Spaniard. About this time (1548), however, the Emperor wished to upset this arrangement, and to secure the imperial throne for Philip —a desire which alarmed not only Ferdinand and his sons, but also the German people, whose knowledge of Spanish methods was derived from the occasional presence of Spanish soldiers among them. In addition, Charles was suspected by the Roman Catholic princes of threatening their cherished independence, and disliked by some Protestant ones because he kept Philip and John Frederick in prison.

The danger to Charles would be serious if the various elements of discontent managed to unite. This seemed unlikely, but nevertheless it happened, largely owing to the skill of Maurice of Saxony, who deserted the Emperor with as little compunction as he had previously deserted his colleagues in the League of Schmalkalden. While he was making his plans, the Emperor, at the diet of 1550, was trying to persuade the princes to recognize the council, just about to return to Trent, and to secure thereat the presence of Protestant theologians. Maurice meanwhile gathered the Lutheran princes together in an alliance, and then revealed his plan with startling suddenness. In January, 1552, he signed a treaty with Henry II. of France, who was informally at war with Charles in Italy. In March Henry invaded Germany, and in May Maurice himself dashed rapidly upon Innsbrück and the Emperor only saved himself from capture by a sudden flight. Almost in a moment the power of Charles had

been shattered, and before the end of May his brother Ferdinand was negotiating on his behalf with the victorious Maurice. By the treaty of Passau, to which the Emperor assented in the following August, it was decided that the questions at issue should be settled by a diet, and that meanwhile the Lutherans should enjoy full religious liberty.

The peace with Maurice did not mean peace with France or with Turkey, as usual a partner in the enterprise. Against them the war was continued. In 1553 Charles was forced to abandon the siege of Metz, which had been captured by Henry II.; but in the east Ferdinand, assisted by Maurice of Saxony, gained some slight successes. These occupations delayed the promised meeting of the diet, and this was further postponed owing to a campaign of plunder carried on by Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg. After the citizens of Nuremberg had paid blackmail to him, and the lands of the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg had been ravaged by his freebooters, a league of princes under Maurice of Saxony was formed to put an end to these proceedings, which savoured of the unruly thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although Maurice was killed in battle, the league succeeded in its object, and in 1554 Albert took refuge in France.

In February, 1555, the diet met at Augsburg. Ferdinand presided, and here the famous religious peace was arranged. Roman Catholics and Lutherans were placed upon an equal footing, but this privilege was not extended to the other sections of the Protestants, the Calvinists. The main principle laid down was that subjects must accept the religion of their ruler—*cujus regio ejus religio*, as it was called. It meant that all who did not agree with the religious views of their prince—for instance, Roman Catholics in Protestant Saxony, and Protestants

in Roman Catholic Bavaria—had only the liberty of going into exile. The Lutherans were allowed to keep all the Church property they had secured before 1552, but by the ecclesiastical reservation it was decided that if an ecclesiastical prince became a Lutheran, as Hermann of Wied had done, he must at once resign his office. The treaty contained this and other matters which at a later date gave rise to trouble, but considering the very difficult circumstances of the time it was, perhaps, as satisfactory a settlement as could be made.

The Emperor was now weary of his work with its endless disappointments, and in 1555 and 1556 he abdicated in Spain and the Netherlands in favour of Philip. In 1556 he sent word to the electors that he wished to give up the German crown, and after lengthy negotiations they met at Frankfort early in 1558 and chose Ferdinand as King and Emperor.

Ferdinand was no stranger to the task of governing Germany, as for nearly forty years he had acted at times as his brother's representative. After the conclusion of the treaty of Augsburg the Protestants made further progress, not only in their own strongholds, but also in Bavaria, the Austrian lands, and the opulent cities of the south. Protestant princes seized and kept several rich bishoprics, and the new Emperor found it very difficult indeed to keep, as he wished to do, the arrangement of 1555 intact. To uphold this he had formed, in 1556, with the rulers of Bavaria and Salzburg and the city of Augsburg, the League of Landsberg, which set on foot a small army. The Protestants were undoubtedly at this time superior to the Roman Catholics in number, but this superiority was neutralized by serious differences in their ranks, which were revealed in very marked fashion at a conference held at Worms in 1557. Some of the leading princes tried hard to compose these differences, but in

vain. They, like the theologians, were divided into two parties. The lack of unity among them was again evident at the diet of 1559, which did nothing to recover Metz from France, but which did a useful work in establishing a single monetary system for all Germany, the basis of which was the silver gulden.

The country at this time was disturbed not only by religious discord, but by a small civil war. A certain Wilhelm von Grumbach, a pupil of Albert Alcibiades, persuaded John Frederick of Saxony that he could recover for him the electoral dignity transferred to Maurice in 1548; but the only result of the rising was an attack on the city of Würzburg, the murder of the bishop, and a series of plundering raids. The Turkish War, too, was in progress at this time, and a little aid was granted towards it by the diet; but the Emperor's armies were not very successful, and in 1562 he agreed to a truce for eight years, consenting both to the loss of territory and the payment of tribute.

The Counter Reformation, which during Ferdinand's short reign began its work for the Church of Rome, benefited from the decrees of the Council of Trent and from the establishment of the Order of Jesus. The Roman Catholic Church had, it is true, lost a great deal of territory, but she had saved her unity, and she was prepared to make excellent use of this; while the Protestants were proving, by a fruitless conference at Nuremberg, and by the conversion of the elector palatine to Calvinism, that among them this desirable end was further off than ever. The religious divisions of the time led not only to disputes and local wars, but to a more serious evil. The various princes, independent sovereigns in all but name, showed a tendency to ally themselves with foreign powers, and to invite the interference of foreign sovereigns in German affairs. In a strong state this would have been impossible,

but in one divided in so many ways each prince regarded it as a legitimate measure of protection.

Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, had given his relatives a good deal of anxiety by his leanings towards Lutheranism, and the Emperor was determined that if he really adopted this form of faith he should not succeed him. About 1560, however, he showed himself amenable to pressure, and in November, 1562, his father felt himself justified in procuring his election as king, when he made the usual promise to protect the Papacy. Maximilian was also king-elect of Hungary and of Bohemia, and when Ferdinand died in July, 1564, he succeeded without further trouble to the three crowns.

It is not surprising that Maximilian, who before his election had been in close communication with the Protestant princes, showed a desire to end the schism in their ranks. In his own Austria he allowed religious liberty to the Lutheran gentry, but his attempts at his first diet (1566) to establish religious unity came to nothing. The Roman Catholics clamoured for the enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and some Lutherans for the exclusion of the elector palatine, a Calvinist, from the benefits of the peace of Augsburg. The latter would not make any concessions, and the Emperor was obliged to publish an edict against him, but the only effectual result of this was that the elector and his friends looked more and more to Protestants abroad for help. The Lutherans, on the other hand, remained on friendly terms with the Emperor. The struggle between the two parties, which became more marked as the years went on, resolved itself gradually into one between the Palatinate and Saxony. While this dispute was in progress, the Roman Catholic reaction was making headway. In the northwest of Germany—the electorate of Cologne, for instance—some ground was recovered; Protestantism was partly

stamped out in Bavaria, and the older faith restored in Fulda.

In 1566 the Turkish War was renewed. The diet voted a liberal subsidy, and the Emperor himself took the field, but no decisive result had been attained when a truce was made in 1568. Other matters of foreign policy soon occupied Maximilian's attention. He was not indifferent to the revolt of the Netherlands against his cousin, Philip of Spain, and the growing practice of German soldiers being hired by foreign rulers was discussed at the diet of Spires in 1570. The members, however, were unwilling to curtail this practice, by which some of them profited, by giving the Emperor the power to prevent such recruiting if he thought it desirable to do so. Maximilian's last years were mainly occupied with events in North-East Europe. His empire was endangered by the growing power of Russia, and in 1575 he was chosen king of Poland—a position which he hoped would add to his authority in that region. He asked the diet in 1576 to assist him in making good his claim to that unstable throne, but the princes were disinclined to do anything in the matter, and in October of the same year the Emperor died.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGIOUS DISCORDS

In 1576, when Rudolph II. succeeded his father as emperor, it may be said with absolute confidence that there was no likelihood whatever of any agreement between the two contending creeds, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and hardly more probability of a reconciliation between Lutherans and Calvinists. The plan of Charles V. to unite all his German subjects by creating for them a Church and a creed which all parties would accept had failed again and again, and the only possible settlement was the religious peace of Augsburg. Yet it is hardly correct to call this a settlement; most certainly it was not a permanent one. The interpretation of its clauses raised as many difficulties as does the interpretation of a modern English Act of Parliament, but with the important difference that in the seventeenth century there was no satisfactory tribunal for deciding them.

With two parties almost equally balanced, with religious questions, which always arouse men's deepest feelings, dividing them, with difficult problems continually arising, and, finally, without any dominant authority to settle them, it is not surprising that the thoughts of the antagonists turned to war as the inevitable solution of their difficulties. Every society admits that there is a time when fighting is just and necessary; the question which always divides us is when does the time come? In Germany, towards the close of the sixteenth cen-

tury, both Roman Catholics and Protestants regarded it as very near, although many doubtless hoped that the calamity might be averted.

Before this came, however, further attempts were made to unite the Protestants. In 1577 the occasion seemed most opportune. The sturdy Calvinist, Frederick III., the elector palatine, was dead, and his successor Louis was a Lutheran, who showed his zeal by persecuting his Calvinistic subjects. Augustus of Saxony and his advisers drew up a new confession of faith; this was a Lutheran document, and very little trouble was taken to conciliate the Calvinists, who were evidently regarded as insignificant. As a matter of fact, if it was signed by the Protestant princes and the governing members of the town councils, it was of no importance whether or not it was acceptable to the lower classes. Union among Protestants in the seventeenth century meant unity among the Protestant rulers. Many princes and representatives of towns signed the document, and when it was published at Dresden it bore the names of fifty-one territorial rulers and of thirty-five cities; but some refused, among these being the landgrave of Hesse and the rulers of Strassburg and Magdeburg, and the progress towards union, which had undoubtedly been made, was arrested when, in 1583, the Palatinate again passed under the rule of a strong Calvinist.

The next serious attempt at Protestant union took place in 1586, just after the death of the Lutheran leader, Augustus of Saxony, when the Calvinist prince and warrior, John Casimir, ruler of the Palatinate as regent for his young nephew, found his opportunity. He succeeded in banding together many of the princes, who, in 1590, placed their grievances before the Emperor ; but Rudolph was unable or unwilling to give them any satisfaction, and in 1591 they offered their help to Henry IV. of France,

then fighting for his throne. Very shortly, however, the deaths of John Casimir and of the moderate Lutheran, Christian I. of Saxony, put an end to this league.

In the Netherlands the long war of revolt against Spain led to the exile of many Protestants. Some of these, often the sturdiest and the most devoted to their faith, settled in the neighbouring parts of Germany, where their religious zeal soon caused trouble. At Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1581, they and their friends took possession of the city, which they governed in accordance with their own ideas. The Emperor ordered the restoration of an old statute which forbade any Protestant to be a member of the town council; but the arrival of his representatives caused a riot, and they were compelled to fly, leaving the Protestants in possession of the field. The diet of Augsburg, which discussed the matter, did nothing to remove them, and they remained in complete authority until 1598, when Roman Catholicism was restored. Gebhard Truchsess, elector of Cologne, about this time declared himself a Protestant, and married an abbess, Agnes, countess of Mansfeld; but then, to the general surprise, he took the advice of some Protestant friends, and insisted, in spite of the ecclesiastical reservation, in retaining his position as elector and archbishop. This was a serious matter. For imperial business, it will be remembered, the electoral college consisted of six members, three laymen and three ecclesiastics. The former were all Protestants, and the latter, of course, Roman Catholics; but the transfer of an elector from one side to the other would give to the one party a valuable majority, which, no one doubted, would be used without scruple in its own interests.

The Roman Catholics regarded this action as a case for war. They controlled the chapter of Cologne, which declared the Protestant archbishop deposed and elected a successor, and when Gebhard refused to accept this verdict

they took up arms, and succeeded, after a two years' war (1582-1584), in ousting him from the see. Emboldened by this easy victory, which was due to the fact that the Protestants in general showed no desire to assist the new recruit to their side, the Roman Catholics restored their religion in various bishoprics in the north—Würzburg, Bamberg, Paderborn, Minden, and Osnabrück—and also in the archbishopric of Salzburg, while they were also successful in preventing the Protestant "administrators"—as those who had seized and were governing bishoprics were called —from voting in the diet as the successors of the prelates who they had deprived of their lands and offices.

The most powerful of these lay bishops was Joachim Frederick of Brandenburg, the administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, but he was compelled to leave the diet of 1582 without having attained his object. Then followed the attempt at uniting the Protestants, which has already been mentioned.

Ten years later Strassburg was the scene of a struggle, not unlike the one which had taken place in Cologne, and in which familiar names appear. Gebhard Truchsess, driven from Cologne, went to Strassburg, where he found many friends with opinions like his own. Forcibly they took possession of the cathedral buildings, and in 1592, when the bishop died, they chose as his successor a Protestant, John George, son of Joachim Frederick of Brandenburg. The Roman Catholic minority chose Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, as bishop, and war broke out, but in 1593 this was ended by a treaty which divided the see between the two. This unsatisfactory arrangement lasted until 1604, when John George resigned his claim in return for compensation.

Such was the condition of Germany when, in 1593, the war with the Turks was renewed; and in 1594, when the diet met at Regensburg, help was voted for the cam-

paign, although some of the Protestant princes wished this to be withheld until their demands were granted. In 1598 they took up the same attitude to the grant of a subsidy, and, their protest being ignored, they put forward the novel theory that the decisions of the majority were not binding upon the minority who had opposed them—a principle which if accepted, would entirely destroy all concerted action on the part of the German people. As a matter of fact, by this time such action was extremely difficult, and the central organization was further weakened when the Protestants, irritated by various decisions which had deprived them of church lands, asserted that the two courts of justice, the *Reichskammergericht* and the *Reichshofrat*, were not qualified to decide ecclesiastical cases. In 1603, at the diet, a heated discussion took place on this subject, but the contending parties were unable to come to terms; meanwhile, the burden of defending the frontiers was discharged by the Austrians under the Archduke Matthias.

Just as religious discord was becoming, if possible, more pronounced in Germany, the Emperor was becoming less able to deal with the situation. About this time Rudolph, who had always been somewhat eccentric, developed this quality to a marked degree and became almost insane. He was unmarried; therefore the persons most concerned with his condition were his numerous brothers, and in 1606 they declared that he was incapable of discharging the duties of government, and that the head of the family was no longer he, but his younger brother, the Archduke Matthias.

Matthias found plenty of occupation in his new capacity. In 1604 the Hungarians had revolted against Rudolph, and with them Matthias made peace, while in 1606 he arranged a truce with the Turks. No sooner had he done this than the Emperor gave signs of returning

sanity, and showed very clearly that he resented his supersession. Having regained to some extent the control of affairs, Rudolph made preparations for renewing the Turkish war, but before he had done anything in this direction, he was faced by a revolt on the part of Matthias, who found supporters in Hungary and elsewhere, and who proved the stronger of the two. In 1608, as the price of peace, the Emperor formally surrendered to his brother the kingdom of Hungary and the archduchy of Austria, and then, to recover them, he made overtures to Christian of Anhalt, the leader of the militant Protestants, and vainly urged the diet to interfere on his behalf.

Unlike Hungary, Bohemia was part of Germany, but both countries alike gave as much trouble as possible to their rulers, the Habsburgs. In Bohemia the Protestants were very numerous and powerful. Their revolt against the Church of Rome dated from the time of Huss or earlier, and they had welcomed the doctrines of the Reformation, some of which were not new to them. As a corollary, they demanded full religious liberty, for Roman Catholicism was still the only religion recognized in the country. The Emperor Maximilian II. had refused to grant their principal demands, and his example had been followed by Rudolph. But in 1609, after the incipient civil war between the brothers, the position was changed. The Bohemian diet demanded that the *Confessio Bohemica*, a Protestant confession of faith, should become a fundamental law of the kingdom, that Roman Catholics and Protestants should be made equal in every way in the eyes of the law, and—and this is a tribute to the progress of the Counter-Reformation—that the power of the Jesuits to acquire land should be limited. After an initial refusal Rudolph assented to these demands, but only when Bohemia was on the verge of revolution. In July, 1609, he signed the famous "Letter of Majesty," in

which he recognized the *Confessio Bohemica*, and gave the Protestants power to defend their own interests. Following this, the two religious bodies guaranteed to each other full religious liberty, the privilege to extend to all classes.

In 1611 there was more disorder in the country. The Archduke Leopold, a cousin of the Emperor, made a raid on Prague, where Rudolph passed most of his time, possibly with the intention of assisting him to revoke the concessions made to the Protestants; but he was soon compelled to retire. This action alarmed Matthias, who collected an army and was welcomed as a deliverer by the Bohemians, and at his suggestion the diet declared Rudolph deposed, the archduke becoming in his stead king of Bohemia. A few months later (January 20, 1612) the Emperor died, and Matthias succeeded him also in that position.

In Germany the Jesuits were very successful in their work of winning back the people to Rome, and they were fortunate in having the devoted help of two young princes —Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and Ferdinand, duke of Styria—both of whom were doing all they possibly could to destroy Protestantism in the districts under their rule. Maximilian was intimately concerned with a serious collision between the two religious parties, which took place in the free city of Donauwörth. Here the Roman Catholics, a small minority of the population, insisted on a procession, which was forbidden by the city council. The *Reichshofrat*, however, to which the case was taken by the bishop of Augsburg, decided against the council, while the Protestants denied the right of this court to interfere. In 1606 a procession led to a riot in the city, and the *Reichshofrat* asked Maximilian to protect the Catholic minority. Nothing loath to give proofs of his zeal for the faith, the duke requested the council to withdraw their prohibition, but, instead, another procession

led to another riot, and, encouraged by some Protestant princes, the men of Donauwörth refused to give way. The city was placed under the imperial ban, and in December, 1607, it was occupied by Maximilian and his army. The Protestant clergy were driven out and the Jesuits admitted. Every favour was shown to the Roman Catholics, while the duke ruled the place, hitherto a free city of the Empire, as if it were part of his own Bavaria.

This arbitrary action had one good result, it united the Protestant princes. In 1608, at the diet of Regensburg, the two most powerful of these, the elector palatine and the elector of Saxony, being in full accord, the differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism were for the time forgotten. They demanded a renewal of the religious peace of Augsburg, but the Roman Catholics stated that they would only agree to this on condition that all lands taken since then from the Church should be restored. This proposal hit the Protestant princes in their most vulnerable spot, and their refusal to consider peace on these terms was most emphatic. Consequently the diet was dissolved without any result being reached.

After this failure the Protestants took a step which had been for some time discussed among them. Under the influence of Christian of Anhalt they formed a league, called the Evangelical Union, to defend their interests. Its head was the elector palatine, and both Lutherans and Calvinists were among its members; its organization provided for the provision and payment of an army, and for sudden action in case of emergency. In the following year (1609) the Roman Catholic princes under Maximilian of Bavaria, stimulated by this example, formed a similar organization called the Catholic League.

All was ready for war, and a suitable *casus belli* soon presented itself; but, owing to a mere accident, the inevitable struggle was postponed for nine years. In 1609

John William, duke of Cleves, Jülich, and Berg died childless—an event for which various princes had been preparing. Like most of these succession questions, the dispute was difficult to decide, owing to the lack of definite laws and precedents. The two chief claimants were John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang William, count palatine of Neuburg, both of whom were related to the deceased duke through females. The Emperor ordered the case to be tried in the *Reichshofrat*, but to this the two claimants refused to consent, arranging instead that a court of Protestant princes should decide between them. A further complication arose when another claimant, the elector of Saxony, appeared, and one, moreover, whose pretensions were favoured by the Emperor, the reason being possibly that his Protestantism was less aggressive than that of his rivals. Faced by this new danger, the two princes, Brandenburg and Neuburg, acted closely together; they took possession of Cleves, while, in accordance with Rudolph's instructions, the Archduke Leopold occupied the fortress of Jülich. Thus it had become a struggle between Roman Catholic and Protestant, and each looked around for help The Union promised aid to the two princes, and so did Henry IV. of France and the States of the Netherlands. From all sides troops began to pour in to assist them to oust Leopold and his Austrians, and their success seemed almost certain, when the news came that their strongest ally, Henry IV. of France, had been murdered (May, 1614). In view of this loss, the Union did not dare to fight, but the two princes repelled the Archduke Leopold from Jülich, and in 1614, by the treaty of Xanten, divided the lands between them.

It was just after these stirring events that, in 1612, Matthias succeeded his brother Rudolph as Emperor. His election was opposed by three of the electors because

of his friendly dealings with the Bohemian Protestants, and the name of his younger brother, the Archduke Albert, was suggested instead, but in the end Matthias was chosen. The new Emperor was unable, at the diet of Regensburg (1613), to reconcile the serious religious differences of Germany, and then, leaving this question alone, he spent the rest of his short reign in Austria and Bohemia.

By this time the Habsburgs had got a firm grip on the German crown, and they were determined to keep it. But they were in a difficulty. Matthias and also his two surviving brothers, Maximilian and Albert, were childless and were getting old, and in a few years would be too feeble to combat the dangers which surrounded them. Under these circumstances Maximilian and Albert renounced their rights in the family inheritance, and it was decided among them that their cousin Ferdinand, duke of Styria, the young and ardent champion of Roman Catholicism, should succeed Matthias. The hereditary lands, Austria, Corinthia, and the rest, would pass to him in the ordinary way on the Emperor's death, and therefore there was no need to trouble about these, but it was otherwise with the three kingdoms, Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, which retained the right of choosing their rulers, and the thoughts and energies of the family, or rather of the Archduke Maximilian, were devoted to securing these for Ferdinand.

The Bohemian diet was persuaded to accept him as the future ruler of the country, and in 1617 he was formally chosen and crowned, but he had not been successful in securing the crowns of Germany and Hungary when Matthias died in March, 1619. In spite of many difficulties, however, Ferdinand hurried to Frankfort, where he was chosen German king in the following August. But before this event the Thirty Years' War had broken out.

CHAPTER XV

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

THE Thirty Years' War, the last of the wars of religion, might just as well be called the Forty Years' War. It is usually regarded as extending from the beginning of the revolution in Bohemia in 1618 to the treaty of Westphalia in 1648; but before the former date there was what an eminent modern lawyer would call "a sort of a war," and we might quite easily and quite correctly regard the outbreak at Donauwörth in 1608 as the beginning of a Forty Years' War. Again, the Thirty Years' War was not one war, but several. It was a revolt of the Bohemians against their king; it was a fight between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants of Germany; it was a struggle between France and Sweden on the one side and Austria and Spain on the other. But there was in it all a certain continuity, and we must accept the conventional designation, and divide the Thirty Years' War into its three well-marked periods. First came the war in Bohemia and Germany from 1618 until 1629, when the Protestants had been crushed by Tilly; the second was from the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus in 1630 to the peace of Prague in 1635; and the third from this latter date to the end

The trouble really began with the election of Ferdinand as king of Bohemia in 1617. It has been mentioned that many of the people of that country were sturdy Protestants, and that Ferdinand was a devoted Roman Catholic,

but the significance of this election does not appear to have occurred to the Bohemians until the deed was done. As a matter of fact they were surprised into choosing as their king one who had already shown himself very hostile to the faith many of them professed. These Protestants soon found out that their religious liberty was in danger, for, encouraged by the election of Ferdinand, some Roman Catholics took steps to put an end to their worship. To defend themselves, the leading Protestants drew up a petition to Matthias, whom they still regarded as their king; and when this brought to them no redress, they hurled the two regents of the kingdom out of a window of the palace at Prague. Then they established a provisional government and raised an army, and the concluding months of 1618 were occupied with fighting between this and some Austrian troops. The Bohemian Protestants obtained the assistance of a famous mercenary, Ernst von Mansfeld, and of a body of Silesians, and by the end of the year nearly the whole of the country was in their hands.

Early in 1619 the rebels were joined by their co-religionists in Moravia and Lusatia, while the Austrian Protestants sent help to them, and even Vienna was in danger of capture. The prince of Transylvania, Bethlem Gabor, was another recruit to the same side, but the defeat of Mansfeld at the battle of Zablat and the relief of Vienna did something to restore the balance.

By this time Matthias was dead, and, refusing to accept Ferdinand as their ruler, the Bohemian diet declared him deposed, and offered the throne of their country to Frederick V., elector palatine, the leader of the German Calvinists, and the son-in-law of James I. of Great Britain. After a little hesitation the elector accepted the invitation, and in November he was crowned at Prague.

The die was now cast, and Ferdinand was ready for the

fight. In January, 1620, he made peace with Bethlem Gabor, who secured for himself a larger part of Hungary,



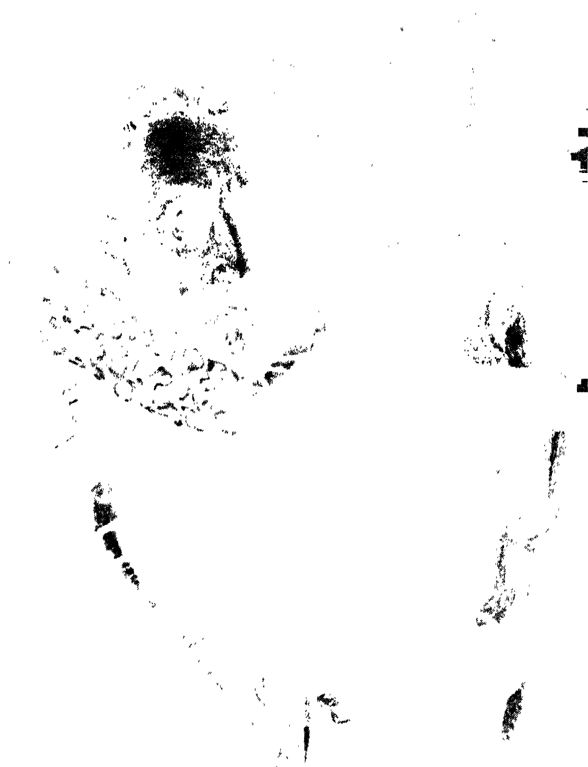
THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II.
From a contemporary engraving.

and then he obtained the help of Maximilian of Bavaria and the forces of the Catholic League, and of the efficient

warriors of Philip of Spain. On the other side was Frederick, backed by the troops of the Union and by the Bohemian Protestants. In 1620 the war was waged in two districts. Bohemia was invaded by the army of the League under Tilly and by the Austrians under Bucquoi, and the Palatinate by the Spaniards under Spinola. On November 8, 1620, on the White Hill, just outside Prague, Frederick's troops were not merely beaten, but dispersed, and the new king fled to the Hague. Not only had he failed to secure Bohemia, but he had lost his paternal inheritance, for the Palatinate, except a few fortresses, was completely in the power of Spanish soldiers.

The first stage of the war was over; the Bohemian revolt had failed, and the Emperor proceeded to punish his foes. The leaders having been executed and their lands confiscated, the Protestant clergy were expelled from the country, and all worship except that of the Roman Catholic Church was forbidden; a year or two later all Protestants were ordered into exile, and in 1627 a new constitution was given to Bohemia. By this the crown was made hereditary in the family of Habsburg; greater powers were given to the king and greater influence to the clergy. The Jesuits were encouraged, and the older landowners were replaced by new ones, more loyal to the Roman Catholic faith.

In a desultory fashion the war continued along the Rhine, but meanwhile the Silesian rebels made peace with the elector of Saxony, who had undertaken to deal with them, and in Austria the Emperor almost stamped out the Protestant faith; Frederick was deprived of his position as an elector, and the Union was dissolved. On behalf of the humiliated elector one or two princes had taken up arms, and in 1621 a gleam of hope came to him. Bethlem Gabor again attacked the Emperor's troops in Bohemia, and James I. tacitly allowed a band of Englishmen to



A. Rischgitz

JAN TSERKLAES, COUNT VON TILLY (1559-1632).

General in the Thirty Years' War on the side of the Catholic League.

From the painting by Anthony van Dyck at Munich

fight for the recovery of the Palatinate. In April, 1622, Tilly was defeated at Wiesloch, but then came the turn of the tide. At Wimpfen the margrave of Baden was beaten by Tilly; Mansfeld was driven across the Rhine into Alsace; and at Höchst, Christian of Brunswick, "God's friend and parson's foe," as he called himself, saw his army destroyed. Tilly then captured Heidelberg and Mannheim, the whole of the country being now in his power; while the Upper Palatinate, a detached part of Frederick's lands, had already been seized by Maximilian; to this ambitious prince, in 1623, the coveted position of elector was transferred by Ferdinand. Tilly continued his victorious career, and in August, 1623, he defeated Christian of Brunswick at Stadtlohn, near Munster.

At this time England was excited by the proposed Spanish match for Prince Charles. Anxious for this, James I. had all along been very reluctant to irritate the king of Spain by assisting his own son-in-law, at least openly, against him; but in 1624, after the famous visit of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid, the match was broken off and James was a free agent. The result was a treaty with France, which was joined by Denmark and the United Provinces, the intention of its promoters being to make a vigorous attack on Spain and Austria. Little, however, was done by this alliance. James, and after him, Charles, was hampered by the want of money, and Richelieu, the real ruler of France, by a rising on the part of the Huguenots. Mansfeld was allowed to raise an army in England, but this melted away before it reached the seat of war, and the little assistance sent by France was almost as ineffective. One member of the league alone carried out his promises. Christian IV. of Denmark was a prince of the Empire, and was therefore interested in German affairs. But interested is perhaps

hardly the correct word. Christian was alarmed, both as a prince and as a Protestant, by the victories of Maximilian and his allies. He raised an army with which he entered the field, and was joined by several of the smaller princes in North Germany. To deal with this new foe, Ferdinand had only the army of the League, and, fearing lest this would be inadequate for all the work which was before it—for Mansfield and Christian of Brunswick were still fighting,—he took into his service one of the most famous soldiers of all time. Albert von Wallenstein was born in Bohemia of Lutheran parents. Nominally he himself was a Roman Catholic, but religion was never a mastering influence in his life. Having gained a good deal of military experience in the early years of the war, he offered to raise an army for the Emperor's service and to maintain it without any cost to his employer, his plan being to make it self-supporting, not by irregular plunderings, but by a regular system of exactions. His offer was accepted, and soon 30,000 men were under his command.

In 1626 the war was renewed upon a somewhat bigger scale. The Danish king was joined by Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, while opposed to them were the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein. In April, 1626, Mansfeld was thoroughly defeated at the bridge of Dessau by Wallenstein; his army was almost destroyed, and with the remnant he crossed Europe and joined Bethlem Gabor, who was again attacking Austria. Wallenstein followed him, and without serious fighting compelled Bethlem to make peace; again he drove Mansfeld before him, but in a very short time both the Protestant mercenary and his comrade, Christian of Brunswick, were removed by death. While Wallenstein was thus relieving Ferdinand from his foes in the east, Tilly was dealing with the king of Denmark. In August, 1626, the League's general was victorious at Lutter in Brunswick, and com-

pelled the king to retreat into his own land, while he himself occupied Brunswick and Brandenburg.

Wallenstein and Tilly were not slow in following up their successes. The former drove the miserable remnant of Mansfeld's army from Silesia, and then, joining Tilly, the two pursued Christian into Denmark, and forced him to take refuge in the most northerly of his islands. But soon they drifted somewhat apart. In 1628 the Emperor authorized Wallenstein to occupy Mecklenburg because its dukes had assisted the Danish king, and at once he began to act upon his commission. He met with very little resistance as he took the duchy, with its long stretch of coast-line, under his authority, until he reached Stralsund. Here he was checked, and after the siege had lasted five months, he acknowledged his defeat by withdrawing his army from around its walls. A little later, in January, 1629, Tilly met with a repulse, as he was unable to capture Glückstadt, and this made him more willing to consider terms of peace. In May, by the treaty of Lübeck, Christian of Denmark abandoned all claims upon the bishoprics of Verden and Bremen, and received in return his hereditary lands again.

It was under these conditions that, in 1629, the Emperor Ferdinand signed the Edict of Restitution. By this he ordered all lands which, since the peace of Passau in 1552, had been taken from the Church, to be restored. It amounted to a revolution, especially in the north, and the Protestant princes were in a state of consternation. In their hands were the lands which had constituted 150 ecclesiastical states, including such important ones as the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, and the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Lübeck, Minden, Verden, and Meissen. The Protestants were determined that they would not surrender these, and the dying embers of the war were fanned into flame.

About the same time the Catholic League, directed by Maximilian of Bavaria, was alarmed at the growing power of Wallenstein; and his system of maintaining his army at the expense of the people among whom it happened to be, although unobjectionable when Protestants were the victims, aroused protests when Roman Catholics were forced to provide for these hungry men. At the diet of 1630, which met at Regensburg, Maximilian demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein, and the Emperor, having to choose between losing him or losing the army of the League, assented. Many of Wallenstein's soldiers then took service with Tilly.

Just as Wallenstein left the imperial service the hero of the war, the king of Sweden, landed in Germany with his powerful army. Gustavus Adolphus had followed very keenly the progress of the war. As a Protestant he disliked the oppression of his co-religionists in Germany, and as king of Sweden he disliked the presence of hostile forces on the shores of the Baltic. For some time past negotiations had been taking place between him and the Protestant princes and their foreign allies, but other matters prevented him from assisting them at an earlier date. However, when he did come it was with an army thoroughly trained and equal in every way to any soldiers in Europe.

In June, 1630, Gustavus landed in Pomerania, where he remained for about six months, occupied in making arrangements for the campaign. In January, 1631, he signed a treaty with France, by which he obtained monetary assistance; in return he promised to respect the Roman Catholic religion and the imperial constitution, and to make no attack upon Bavaria. The war he was to wage was against the Emperor and his Spanish allies.

The German Protestants were very slow in sending assistance to the Swedish king. In the north their two

leaders, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, refused to join him. They disliked the Edict of Restitution, but they also disliked the idea of making war upon the Emperor, and they trusted still to diplomacy to secure the removal of their grievances.

With the spring of 1631 Gustavus set his army in motion. Tilly was ready for him, and succeeded in drawing first blood. In March he made a sudden attack on New Brandenburg, where he destroyed the Swedish garrison of 2,000 men, and then he undertook the siege of Magdeburg. Gustavus captured the important fortress of Frankfort-on-the-Oder in April, and then set out to the relief of Magdeburg. Between him and the beleaguered city, however, lay the lands of the two neutral electors, and neither of them would permit him to cross. After wasting valuable time the king took the bull by the horns, marched into Brandenburg, and forced the elector into compliance with his wishes. Turning next to Saxony, he was negotiating with the elector, when, on May 10, Magdeburg was stormed, plundered, and almost destroyed, amid scenes of horror which made the event noticeable in an age of lust and cruelty.

The loss of Magdeburg was a great victory for the Imperialists, and it was hailed as such. It made the Protestant princes less willing than ever to join Gustavus, who marched down the Elbe and entrenched his army at Werben, a fortress standing where that river and the Havel meet. Tilly meanwhile plundered the lands of William of Hesse-Cassel, and of one or two other princes who had joined the Swedes. Soon, however, he led his men to Werben, but two attacks were repulsed with heavy loss, and, turning away, he marched towards Saxony, with the intention of compelling the elector to disband his army. John George, however, refused, being less willing to accede to this request because his petition for

the withdrawal of the Edict of 1629 had just been rejected. Tilly then invaded Saxony, and in reply the elector made an alliance with Gustavus and implored his aid.

The Swedish king answered the invitation in a practical fashion. His Swedes crossed the Elbe into Saxony, and were joined by the elector's army. Tilly had just captured Leipzig, and it was at Breitenfeld, outside that town, that the two armies met on September 17, 1631. The Saxons were routed, but the Swedes more than held their own, and in the end the Imperialists were defeated with heavy loss. By this victory Gustavus became master of the situation. Various counsels were thrust upon him, but he decided to march into South Germany, and there to help the Protestants. He took his way by Erfurt and Würzburg to Mainz; from there he entered the Palatinate, where the reformed religion was restored, and his troops rested during the winter in the Rhineland.

In the spring of 1632 the war was renewed. Nuremberg was entered, and Donauwörth was captured by the Swedes; but by this time Tilly, having followed his foe, occupied an entrenched position on the Lech. This, however, was stormed in April, and the imperialist leader was mortally wounded. The Swedes then mastered Munich, Augsburg and other Bavarian towns. At the same time the Saxons took possession of Bohemia and occupied Prague.

The tables were turned on the Emperor and Maximilian of Bavaria. Wallenstein was avenged. In his difficulties it was to the dismissed general that Ferdinand looked for aid. Wallenstein's terms were high, but they were perforce accepted. The Edict of 1629 was to be withdrawn, no other army was to be raised in the imperial service, and the powers of confiscation and pardon were vested in the general, and in him alone. These terms arranged, Wallenstein collected an army with the utmost ease, its

ranks being quickly filled by soldiers of fortune from all parts of Europe. Having driven the Saxons from Bohemia, and vainly offered terms to the elector, he turned towards his chief foe, the Swedish king.

The two armies came into touch in Franconia. The Swedes entered Nuremberg, which they fortified, while the Imperialists, declining the offer of battle, occupied themselves with cutting off their foes from their supplies. This strategy succeeded, and Gustavus was obliged to lead his troops out of the city and to attack Wallenstein's camp. Repulsed with serious loss, he retreated towards the Danube, while Wallenstein marched into Saxony with the intention of terrorizing the Saxons into peace; but he had no sooner seized Leipzig than he was surprised by the arrival of the Swedish army. He had just succeeded in recalling his cavalry when Gustavus delivered his attack, and on November 16, 1632, the great battle between them was fought at Lützen. After a sanguinary day the Imperialists retreated, but the real loss was with their foes, for the Swedish king was among the slain. By this the position was completely changed. Under the direction of the Chancellor Oxenstjerna, the Swedes and the Protestant princes formed the League of Heilbronn, the army of which was placed under Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who was to be rewarded by a duchy in Franconia. Meanwhile the main Swedish army, which after Lützen had fallen back into the Palatinate, was fighting the Imperialists in the south-west, and Wallenstein, having left Saxony for Silesia, was destroying the Swedish garrisons in that region The imperial general, however, was tired of the war, and was contemplating a general pacification, which he suggested to the Swedes and the Saxons. This policy was very unacceptable to the strong Roman Catholics and the Spaniards, for it meant concessions to the Protestants, and they demanded the dis-

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE IMPERIAL AND SWEDISH ARMIES AT THE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN, 1632.

From a contemporary engraving.



COUNT ALBERT VON WALLENSTEIN, DUKE OF FRIEDLAND (1583-1634).

From a painting by Anthony van Dyck.

missal of Wallenstein, whom they regarded as dangerous and false to their cause. As in 1630, Ferdinand gave way, and in 1634 he dismissed his general for the second time. To this humiliation he added insult, for Wallenstein was denounced and treated as a traitor. The fallen general had just renewed his negotiations for imposing peace upon the country by a union of forces when he was murdered at Eger in February, 1634.

The war continued, victory being with the Imperialists, who were led by Gallas, and were aided by more Spanish soldiers. They took Regensburg and Donauwörth, and in September, 1634, they defeated Bernhard at Nördlingen —a victory which practically destroyed the model army created by Gustavus and prevented its leader from securing his coveted duchy.

Further successes followed, and then came the peace of Prague, which ended the second period of the war. This was signed between the Emperor and John George, elector of Saxony, while later other princes accepted its terms. The elector tried to obtain the withdrawal of the Edict of 1629, which, in spite of the promise to Wallenstein, still remained in force; but, although he failed in this, he secured substantial concessions for the Protestants, or rather for the Lutherans. It will be remembered that the Edict ordered the restoration of all lands taken from the Church since 1552; in the treaty of Prague, 1627, was substituted for the earlier date, so that the Protestant princes were able to keep all they had taken during the intervening seventy-five years.

In 1635 France, hitherto a second only, entered the field as a principal. After the death of Gustavus, Richelieu had associated himself more closely with the German Protestants, had assented to the league of Heilbronn, and had sent troops into Trier and Lorraine. In 1635 he went further. He took the army of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar

into the service and pay of France, and in May, 1635, declared war on Spain. The position taken up by France throughout the struggle was that she was fighting Spain and her ally the Emperor, but not the empire. Having signed the treaty of Prague, the Saxon elector, anxious to clear his land of the foreigner, turned his arms against the Swedes, who had refused to leave Germany without securing territory therein for themselves. In 1635 the Swedish general Baner won the battle of Domitz, and then, after the capture of Magdeburg by his enemies, he gained a tremendous victory at Wittstock over the combined Imperialists and Saxons in October, 1636.

Between France and Spain the war was waged in the Netherlands and in Italy, while it was also carried on along the Rhineland. It was by this time almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, as many of the princes had made peace, and were only concerned in keeping their lands free from plundering armies. In 1638 Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar defeated the Imperialists at Rheinfelden, and after fighting two victorious battles took the important fortress of Breisach; but in the following year he died, having helped France to make good her foothold in Alsace and Lorraine. About the same time a combined attack on the Swedes forced them back into Pomerania, which they desolated. In 1639, however, they again took the offensive. Capturing Halle and Freiburg, they beat the imperialists at Chemnitz, and passed through Saxony into Bohemia; but here they were checked, and for a year or two nothing important was done by them.

By this time negotiations for peace had begun. Pope Urban VIII. had taken the initiative, and meetings had been held at Cologne, but they failed to effect anything, partly because of the desire of France and Sweden to possess German territory. In 1640 Ferdinand III., who had succeeded his father as Emperor in 1637, proposed to

extend the peace of Prague to the whole country, but this, too, failed. In the following year it was agreed that the Protestant and Roman Catholic representatives should meet separately, the former at Osnabrück, and the latter at Munster, but that the two meetings should be regarded as a single congress. Disputes about precedence and other matters interposed further delays, but eventually, in 1644, the envoys actually got to work.

While these men were debating, battles were being fought and won. In 1640 Baner made a sudden attack on Regensburg, where the diet was assembled; but the Emperor managed to collect an army, and the Swedes soon returned to Hesse and Brunswick. After Baner's death in 1641 his successor Torstensson defeated the Imperialists at Wolfenbüttel, then led a fairly successful expedition into Silesia, and finally, in November, 1642, beat the Imperialists and the Saxons with enormous loss at Breitenfeld—a victory which gave Leipzig into his hands.

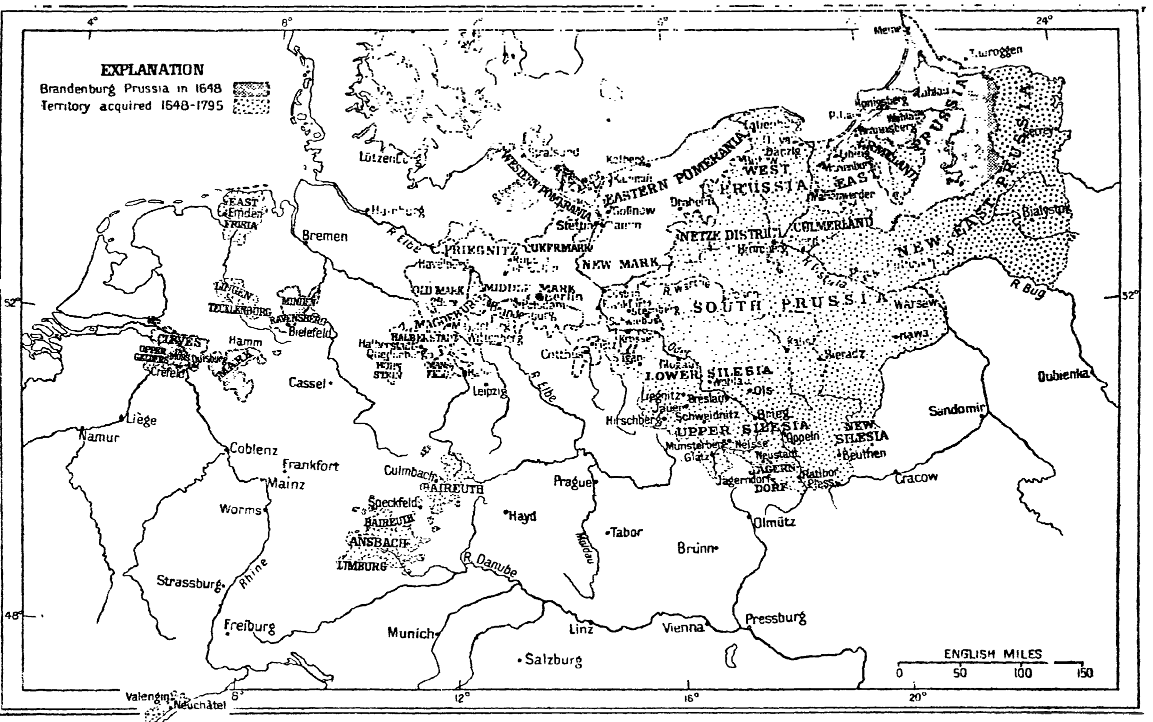
The main centres of the war, however, were the Netherlands and the Rhineland. Germany was only indirectly concerned in the victories of Condé in the former district, but in the latter the Emperor's task was to prevent France from securing Alsace, and with it both banks of the Rhine. Although aided by the Bavarians, his efforts were unsuccessful; the combined forces met with one or two successes in Württemberg, in 1643. During the same year the Swedes had followed the Imperialists under Gallas through Bohemia and Moravia, and then returned to Holstein, where they passed the winter. In the following year they were again in the Emperor's hereditary lands, and in March, 1645, they destroyed the imperial army at Jankau in Bohemia. Vienna was in great danger, and Ferdinand was reduced to the most desperate straits, men and money being alike wanting. Fortunately

for the capital, the Swedish leader marched away into Moravia.

Ferdinand's unfortunate position in 1645 was partly due to events in the Rhineland, when the famous French general Turenne made his appearance. The Bavarians besieged Freiburg, which surrendered, and were then attacked, in August, 1644, in their entrenched position by the French. This battle cost both sides very heavily, and prevented the Bavarians, who were forced to retreat, from doing anything to draw off the Swedish attack in the east. In 1645 the French and Bavarians, both having obtained reinforcements, met again. This year the decisive battle was fought at Nördlingen (August 3), where the Bavarians were beaten. Before this, in 1642, the elector of Brandenburg had arranged a truce with the Swedes by which his land was freed from the horrors of war, and in 1645 his example was followed by the elector of Saxony.

In 1646, at the instigation of Turenne, the French and the Swedes, who had hitherto fought the Emperor separately, united for a great attack. Torstensson's successor, Wrangel, joined Turenne, and they made for Bavaria. Their ravages forced the elector Maximilian to assent to a truce, and his foes left his country and separated again for the winter, Wrangel making a plundering expedition into Bohemia. In 1647 Maximilian again joined the Emperor, and the allied army, uniting in Hesse, again invaded his land. At Zumarshausen in May they crushed his forces, and after a slight check they besieged Munich, while a second Swedish army was preparing for an assault on Prague. These operations, however, were stopped by the news that peace had been made, and that the Thirty Years' War was at an end.

By the treaty of Westphalia all the combatants made peace except France and Spain, who continued their war



MAP OF GERMANY AT THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA, 1648.

until 1659. It was signed on October 24, 1648, at Osnabrück and Munster, and is one of the most important treaties ever made. With regard to the religious difficulty, Calvinists were placed on an equality with Lutherans, and the year 1624 was substituted for 1627 as the crucial year in the matter of the restoration of ecclesiastical lands.* All that was in Protestant hands at that time was to remain so, but all seized since then was to be restored to its clerical owners. In the *Reichskammergericht*, on which would fall the task of deciding disputes on this question, the two sides were to be equally represented.

More difficult, perhaps, was the rearrangement of the map of Germany. To Sweden, Western Pomerania, a few places in Mecklenburg, the bishoprics of Verden and Bremen, and a sum of money, were given; while France received Alsace, excepting the free city of Strassburg, and the formal recognition of her possession of the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had been in her hands for a hundred years. Maximilian of Bavaria, who had fought so hard for Roman Catholicism, obtained the Upper Palatinate, and a confirmation of his position as an elector; the exiled ruler of the Palatinate, Charles Louis, a son of the unfortunate Frederick, was restored to the Rhenish Palatinate, the larger part of his domains, and, to compensate him for the loss of the electoral dignity, a new electorate was created for him and he became the eighth member of the electoral college. Brandenburg's claim on Eastern Pomerania was confirmed, and in return for giving up Western Pomerania she received the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Kammin. Saxony received Lusatia and part of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and a few adjustments of territory were made be-

* This applied to the whole Empire, except Baden, Württemburg and the Palatinate, when 1618 was the year fixed.

tween the smaller states. The independence of the Swiss cantons and of the Netherlands was recognized.

The main work of the treaty was to weaken, if not to destroy, the Empire as a practical force in Europe. The German princes were allowed to make treaties with foreign powers, and became in all but name independent rulers, while France and Sweden obtained the right to interfere in imperial affairs. Finally, its loss of territory was about 40,000 square miles.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FRENCH AGGRESSION

FROM Westphalia to Waterloo the history of Europe is little more than a resistance to the supremacy of France. This supremacy is the outstanding fact of the latter part of the seventeenth, and of the eighteenth century. It began with Richelieu, it was continued by Louis XIV., and finally it rose to unexampled heights and fell under Napoleon. When the Thirty Years' War ended, it was not definitely established, but in the course of the next fifty years it was to be placed quite beyond question, and Germany was to be its principal victim.

At the end of the war Germany was in a pitiable condition. Its population had been reduced by one-half or more, and with this there was a corresponding loss to industry, especially agriculture, and to trade, while the moral and intellectual progress of the people had been retarded. The Emperor Ferdinand III., who reigned until 1657, devoted his time chiefly to the government of his hereditary lands, on the possession of which, as the result of the changes of 1648, his power rested more than ever. To carry out the terms of the treaty, a congress met at Nuremberg in 1649; here money was raised to pay off the Swedes, and gradually the country was cleared of foreign troops. The diet, which met at Regensburg in 1653, failed to reach any decision on the important question as to whether a tax was binding upon all the princes, or only upon those who voted for it, and showed its impotence in other ways.

Meanwhile the princes, having experienced the weakness of the central government, began to form leagues for mutual protection. There could be no objection to this policy when carried out on a small scale, but when the leagues were joined and "protected" by foreign powers, they were a source of danger. The electors of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz formed a league, which was joined by neighbouring princes, and the elector of Brandenburg made one with the dukes of Brunswick. About the same time Sweden was quarrelling with the citizens of Bremen, and the elector of Brandenburg was disputing with the count palatine of Neuburg over the division of the duchies of Cleves and Jülich. A war between Sweden and Poland was a matter of importance to the Emperor and to several princes in the neighbourhood: The former made an alliance with Poland, while the elector of Brandenburg cynically transferred his support from one side to the other.

When Ferdinand III. died in April, 1657, there was, contrary to custom, no king-elect. His eldest son, Ferdinand, had been chosen king of the Romans in 1653, but had died a little later, and he had been unable to procure the election of his second son Leopold, although this prince was already king-designate of Hungary and of Bohemia. Consequently, in 1657, the election of king and emperor was not quite such a foregone conclusion as usual. France, true to her traditions, tried hard to secure the election of a prince who was not a Habsburg, but she was unsuccessful, and in 1658 Leopold was unanimously chosen. Louis XIV., however, secured a promise, made in the *Wahlkapitulation*, that the new Emperor would not assist Spain in her war with France.

Louis was by this time thoroughly started on his career of conquest. He had failed in 1658, but his next move was more successful. In 1658 also a Rhenish alliance

was formed, its members being France and Sweden and many German princes, among them the electors of Mainz and Cologne, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the dukes of Brunswick. The advantages gained by France were conspicuous. The main object of the league was to maintain the treaty of Westphalia, but it was agreed that the assenting princes should not allow any troops ordered to serve against France to pass through their territories. These territories lay directly between Italy and the Netherlands, and if the princes kept their promises Spain would only with the greatest difficulty be able to send men from one country to the other. As for Sweden, it was decided that an army should be raised for her assistance if she was attacked by either Poland or Brandenburg. The league was soon joined by other German princes, and was renewed in 1660, and again in 1663.

This was the position in the west of Germany. The east, in which the Emperor Leopold took a more personal interest, had its own problems. Hungary was divided into two parts—one ruled by the Emperor as king, and the other, Transylvania, ruled by a prince under the supremacy of Turkey; and the Turks had not yet reached the limits of their conquests. In 1663 they marched into Leopold's lands, and on August 1, 1664, a great battle between them and the Imperialists was fought at St. Gotthard. The Turks were defeated and driven back, and a few days later peace was made. A truce for twenty years was arranged, the Sultan being allowed to keep his authority in Transylvania and the fortress of Neuhaüsel.

To provide men and money for this undertaking, Leopold had, in 1662, when the war was threatened, called the diet to Regensburg. Here the questions left unsettled at the previous diet were again brought forward, but they only served to increase the ill-feeling between the Emperor and the members of the Rhenish alliance. This diet is

memorable because, unlike its predecessors, it was never dissolved. It remained in session from this time until the end of the Empire in 1806, and Regensburg was always its place of meeting. This does not mean, of course, that it met every day, but only that the formalities of opening and closing were dispensed with, and that one meeting took up the business just where the previous one had left it.

In spite of difficulties, the Emperor did succeed in obtaining assistance against the Turks, and without this he would certainly not have won the battle of St. Gotthard. He approached many princes separately and won their support; after having stipulated that it must form a separate unit under its own officers, the Rhenish alliance sent an army, and, more remarkable still, 6,000 French soldiers joined the imperial standard. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony sent troops, and the diet ordered all the states of the Empire to do their share in the work of defence.

During the next few years Germany was troubled by several little wars. The restored elector palatine insisted that he had the right of hunting, not merely in his own land, but in districts ruled by his neighbours, and it is not surprising that this claim led to trouble. A league of some magnitude was formed against him, but in 1667 the matter was referred to the arbitration of France and Sweden, and a decision in favour of the elector was given. About the same time the elector of Mainz forcibly took possession of Erfurt, and there was trouble over the succession to the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg. In this latter dispute, as in the one in the Palatinate, France and Sweden interfered, while the Emperor's name was hardly mentioned—a striking illustration of the condition of Germany at the time. The warlike bishop of Munster, Christopher von Galen, was assisting Charles II. of

England against the Dutch, and Sweden was renewing an old quarrel with the city of Bremen. In 1666, however, owing to the intervention of the elector of Brandenburg and other princes, both disputes were ended, although Sweden had already sent an army into Germany.

In 1667 Louis XIV. failed to renew the Rhenish alliance, but he managed to bind many of its members—among them the three electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier—to himself, and then he invaded the Spanish Netherlands, and seized certain fortresses. This proceeding was, of course, a declaration of war on Spain, and that power sought to check the French advance by forming a big alliance. Louis, however, was too quick and too clever for her. Negotiations did indeed take place, but the indecision of Leopold was one of several causes which prevented any satisfactory conclusion to them. Meanwhile, the French king purchased the benevolent neutrality of the elector of Brandenburg, and then he made a secret treaty with the Emperor by which the great Spanish monarchy would be divided between them on the death of its present ruler, Charles II. Others, however, were less easy to placate. The French advance threatened the Dutch, who had won their freedom at a great price, and a triple alliance against France was formed between England, Sweden, and Holland. Louis accepted this as a hint that he had gone far enough, and in May, 1668, he signed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle with Spain. Twelve towns in Flanders represented the gains of the war.

The Emperor Leopold was a brother-in-law of Louis XIV., as both monarchs had married daughters of Philip IV. of Spain, and this was one reason why the former was reluctant to take any part in opposing the plans of the French king, although they were fraught with danger to the country over which he ruled. But soon the compulsion of events became stronger than the desire

for peace. When Louis had destroyed the triple alliance by bribing Charles II. of England into signing the secret treaty of Dover, he prepared to attack the Dutch, and to punish them for having thwarted him in 1668.

A glance at the map will show the proximity of the Netherlands to Germany, and to-day the maintenance of the independence of Holland and Belgium is a factor in the politics of Europe. These countries were not less important in the seventeenth century, and Leopold, in his home on the Danube, realized the gravity of the situation. With the elector of Brandenburg he formed an alliance to maintain the treaty of Westphalia, and the two promised help to Holland. But the Emperor was at the same time not quite free from his engagements to France, and when, in 1672, Louis attacked the Dutch Leopold only took a lukewarm part in the struggle. This policy hampered the elector of Brandenburg, who was annoyed with the Dutch because the subsidies promised to him were not promptly forthcoming; consequently, when his own land was invaded, he made peace with France and for a time withdrew from the war.

The advances of the French armies in 1672 and 1673 stirred Leopold and some German princes to action of a more definite kind. In August, 1673, an alliance was made between Spain, Holland, the Emperor, and the duke of Lorraine; in 1674 the elector of Brandenburg again took the field, and the diet of the Empire formally declared war on France. In the same year the alliance was joined by the three ecclesiastical electors and the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate, and Germany was practically united in offering armed resistance to France. In spite of these accessions of strength, however, the successes won in 1673 by Montecuculli were not repeated in 1674. Franche Comté was conquered by France and the Palatinate was again devastated; Turenne defeated

the Imperialists at Sinzheim, and drove them from Mannheim to Frankfort. Later in the year the same general gained a victory at Engheim, and forced the elector of Brandenburg to retreat across the Rhine. But from this time the fortune of war went steadily against Louis. In 1675 his remaining ally, Sweden, met with a very serious reverse at Fehrbellin, and his greatest general, Turenne, was killed at Sasbach. Without any decisive result there were campaigns in 1676 and the two following years, but peace negotiations had already been begun, and in August, 1678, France and Holland came to terms. Other members of the alliance followed this example, but the Emperor did not make peace until 1679. The collective treaties are known as the peace of Nijmwegen, but they made no appreciable difference in the boundaries of Germany, although Franche Comté became definitely united with France, and Leopold surrendered Freiburg in Breisgau.

Alsace and Lorraine were the chief bones of contention between France and Germany. Lying as they did between the two kingdoms, they had always been debatable ground, but never more so than during the tug-of-war between Louis and Leopold. By the treaties of Westphalia and Nijmwegen, France had secured Alsace and Franche Comté, but Louis soon showed that he regarded this as the beginning, and not the end, of his work of conquest. He wanted to know how far his new possessions extended, and he contended that the treaties gave France, not only Alsace and Franche-Comté, but outlying districts which had once been united with them. Accordingly, he appointed chambers of reunion, as they were called, and they discovered that various towns, not yet in the possession of France, had once belonged to the ceded districts. At once these were occupied by French troops. The culmination of this new interpretation of the

treaties was the seizure of the city of Strassburg, which took place in 1681.

These aggressions were a plain declaration of war upon the Empire and a clear warning to the princes. If treaties could be interpreted in this fashion, hardly anything they had was safe, for one day it might be discovered that Munich or Heidelberg had been at one time part of the kingdom of the Franks. As was fitting, Leopold took the lead and was eager for war. He succeeded in securing help from many of the princes; a quadruple alliance was arranged between him, Sweden, Holland, and Spain, and the imperial diet voted for an army of 40,000 men. But the elector of Brandenburg, the most powerful of the princes, was averse to war with France, and the Turks were threatening the east; consequently Leopold, very reluctantly, it should be said, entered into negotiations with Louis, the upshot being a truce signed at Regensburg in 1684 by which France was to keep the places in dispute for twenty years.

It was as ruler of Austria rather than as ruler of the whole of Germany that Leopold maintained his position in Europe, and so about this time histories begin to speak of Austria as a European power. They mean exactly what earlier writers meant when they spoke of the Empire; they mean the lands over which the Emperor ruled, and as these were reduced by degrees to the Austrian duchies it became more convenient, and also more accurate, to refer to them as Austria. In this sense it was Austria which, in 1682, was engaged in a war with the Turks; for the rest of Germany was only partially affected by it, although some of the princes were persuaded to help. In 1670 there had been an insurrection in Austria-Hungary, and others had followed. The rebels had found a little support from France and Poland, but in 1682 their cause was taken up in real earnest by the Sultan. In

July, 1683, a great Turkish army appeared before Vienna, and the duke of Lorraine, who commanded Leopold's forces, was unable to offer any resistance to its advance. Fortunately, in the previous March, the emperor had signed a treaty with the king of Poland, John Sobieski, and this saved his capital. It was September, and Vienna was in dire straits when John appeared; uniting his forces with the Imperialist army, which by this time had been strengthened by the arrival of Bavarians, Saxons, and others, he attacked the Turks and routed them completely. Again Vienna was saved, and Leopold was able to return to it, while his conquering army followed the Turks into Hungary and captured Gran. Venice then joined him, and in 1685 almost the whole of Hungary was regained. In 1687 the Turks were defeated at Mohacs, and Croatia and Slavonia were conquered, and in the following year Belgrade was captured. The Turks then met with one or two successes, especially in 1690, when Belgrade was retaken and Hungary threatened, but they were only temporary ones and their humiliation was completed by the victories of Prince Eugene of Savoy. In 1699 the Sultan agreed to the treaty of Carlowitz. By this he surrendered the whole of Hungary, except the district of Temesvar, and Croatia and Slavonia to the Emperor, who was also recognized as overlord of Transylvania.

In 1685 Louis XIV. made a further attempt to secure some German territory. In the name of his sister-in-law, the duchess of Orleans, he claimed a part of the Palatinate, but this is only important because it led to the formation of a great league against him. In this the lead was taken by the elector of Brandenburg, who was aggrieved by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. He allied himself with the Emperor, and sent troops to the Turkish war, and, in 1686, he helped Leopold to conclude

the league of Augsburg. This, joined by Sweden, Holland and Spain, as well as many of the German princes, was for the purpose of maintaining the terms of the treaties of peace; but it did nothing notable, and, rather disgusted, Leopold once again entered into negotiations with Louis.

In 1688 William of Orange was a prominent European figure. Ruler of Holland, he was, before the end of the year, ruler of England also, and henceforward he was Germany's most powerful ally. Knowingly or unknowingly, the French king had aided his invasion of England. In this year two rivals, one supported by Louis and the other by Leopold, were contending for the archbishopric of Cologne. The French protégé was unsuccessful, and, incensed at this, Louis accused the Emperor of having broken the truce of 1684, and sent armies into the Palatinate and the archbishopric of Cologne. This proceeding freed the Netherlands from immediate danger, and allowed William to sail to England.

The rapid French conquest of the fortresses of the Palatinate and of those in the archbishopric of Cologne, as well as of Mainz, Worms and Spires, aroused great consternation in Germany, and the result was the strengthening of the league of Augsburg, which carried on a war with France from 1689 to 1697. Hostilities really began in 1688, when Brandenburg, Saxony, and Hanover sent troops to resist the French advance in the Palatinate; in February, 1689, the Empire formally declared war, and three months later England did the same. As far as Germany was concerned, the earlier years of the struggle were occupied with campaigns in and around the Rhenish Palatinate, but, of course, it was influenced by the results achieved in Italy and the Netherlands. In 1690 Savoy, and in 1691 Spain, joined the league against France, but the allied forces were weakened by a dispute between

Leopold and the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, and by other quarrels among the German princes.

At this time Hanover, formerly a part of the duchy of Brunswick, made its appearance as a German state. Its ruler, Ernest Augustus, an ancestor of the English royal family, had been one of those who at the beginning of the war had sent troops to resist the French advance, and these had done useful work for the alliance. As a reward for these services he asked for the position of an elector, and it seemed likely that, if his demand was refused, he would desert Leopold and join France. Under these circumstances the Emperor assented. In 1692 he made a treaty with Ernest Augustus, who promised assistance both in men and money for the war, and who in return became elector of Hanover and the ninth member of the electoral college. There was much opposition to this proceeding, but Ernest succeeded in bribing or persuading four of the electors, and by a majority of votes he was admitted as a colleague. The three other electors and many princes protested.* For a time they refused to recognize the new elector; they formed an alliance, and called upon France and Sweden as guarantors of the treaty of Westphalia to assist them. Ernest Augustus, however, stuck to his position, and in time all opposition vanished. The chief result of this quarrel was the weakening of the German armies in 1692 and 1693, and this was increased by a dispute over Lauenburg between the new elector and his brother on the one side and the king of Denmark on the other. While this was proceeding Leopold was offending two of his chief helpers, the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony. Both withdrew their armies from the field, but in 1693 the Emperor persuaded them to send them back. In 1695 there was

* The remaining elector was the Emperor himself, as King of Bohemia.

some trouble over the succession to Strelitz and Schwerin, parts of Mecklenburg, and in the same year the enemies of the new elector of Hanover formed a fresh and stronger alliance.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Leopold was unable to conduct the French war very efficiently, especially as, in addition to his continual troubles with his touchy and petulant allies, he had to find men and money for the Turkish war. However, in Italy and the Netherlands his allies held their own against France, and so relieved the pressure in the Rhineland, where no decisive result was reached by either side. In 1693 Louis made overtures for peace, but nothing came of them.

In 1695 the French king made another attempt. He tried to break up the alliance by detaching one or more of its members, and in 1696 the duke of Savoy made peace with him. In 1697 formal negotiations were begun at Ryswick, and in September the treaty was signed by all the powers except the Emperor. Pressure was brought to bear upon him and a little later he assented to the terms arranged. By the treaty of Ryswick, France surrendered to Germany all the towns seized since 1679 except Strassburg, and Louis's nominee was installed in the electorate of Cologne. The ambition of Louis XIV. was checked, and the western frontier of Germany was saved from further loss.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA—THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

In narrating these wars against Louis XIV., the name of the elector of Brandenburg has frequently been mentioned. In the seventeenth century he was undoubtedly the most powerful of the German princes, and after he was made king of Prussia in 1701 he became still more so, until finally he supplanted the ruler of Austria as the head of Germany. A little space should therefore be given to an outline of the growth of the state of Brandenburg-Prussia.

In 1415 Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, a man of wealth, lent money to the needy emperor Sigismund, and as security for the loan received the electorate of Brandenburg. The money was never repaid, and Frederick's title, as lawyers say, became an absolute one. When he began to rule over Brandenburg it was in every sense of the word a poor country. About 10,000 square miles in extent, or rather bigger than Wales, it was, moreover, in a state of anarchy, the *junker*, or squires, doing exactly as they liked. Prominent among these squires were the Quitzows, but they were soon reduced to obedience by Frederick, whose trained army taught them that they were no longer without a ruler. The country then suffered from the ravages of the Hussites, but, in spite of this, its condition got better, and the next elector, Frederick II., who reigned from 1440 to 1470,

added to its area, besides making treaties with Saxony and Mecklenburg, which provided that if the families ruling those lands became extinct, his own should inherit them.

The next ruler, Albert, called Achilles, in accordance with the practice prevalent during the Renaissance of using classical names, issued the celebrated law called the *Dispositio Achillea.* In Germany at this time it was the general custom for a ruler to leave his lands to all his sons, not, by following the law of primogeniture, to the eldest only. This practice accounts for the frequent partitions of which we read, some of which—like Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Saxe-Meiningen, and Saxe-Weimar—may still be seen upon the map of Germany. These and others were originally divisions of a single territory, and were usually distinguished from the other divisions by the addition of the name of the capital town to that of the territory itself. Thus we have Hesse-Darmstadt, the division of Hesse which has Darmstadt as its capital, Anhalt-Dessau and the rest.

However desirable this arrangement was in the way of fairness it made for weakness. Territories became smaller and smaller, were less able to resist their adversaries, while the expenses of governing them fell with greater weight upon fewer people. Moreover, the divisions led to constant disputes between the members of the ruling family. All these evils are obviated to a considerable extent by the system of primogeniture, and Albert Achilles, realizing this, ordered, by his *Dispositio,* or will, that on his death Brandenburg should not be divided, but should pass wholly to his eldest son. This was carried out when he died in 1486, his son John Cicero becoming elector and sole ruler.

Both Albert and John Cicero lost no opportunity of adding to the area of Brandenburg, and in 1472 the

former was recognized as the future ruler of Pomerania. The next elector, Joachim I., followed the same policy, but did more, perhaps, to give to his land the blessings of an orderly government. He protected traders, improved the administration of justice, and suppressed robbers. When he died, ignoring the will of Albert Achilles, he left the district to the east of the Oder, known as the new mark of Brandenburg, to his younger son John. His elder son, Joachim II., received the old and middle marks. During Joachim's reign the Reformation penetrated into the electorate, and the elector had to make up his mind about it. His decision was not unlike that of Henry VIII. He did not abandon the Roman Catholic form of faith, but he rejected the papal authority, and he seized some rich bishoprics which provided him with money. Two arrangements which he made with neighbouring princes were full of consequences for the future. In 1537 he agreed with the duke of Liegnitz that his family should succeed to some Silesian duchies in case the ruling house became extinct, and in 1569 he made a similar arrangement with a kinsman, the duke of Prussia. On the strength of the former of these, Frederick the Great claimed Silesia in 1740, and made war on Austria, while, owing to the latter, Prussia was added to Brandenburg in 1618.

John George, the succeeding elector, united all Brandenburg under his rule, and during his reign Lutheranism became the established religion of the country, while Protestants exiled from France and the Netherlands were encouraged to settle therein. In the sixteenth century, also, the estates secured the control of taxation—an important step in the development of the land.

Secure in the possession of a strong and united electorate, the rulers of Brandenburg became more and more prominent in European affairs. The dispute over the

possession of the duchies of Cleves and Jülich, which occurred just before the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, has already been mentioned, and for these lands the elector of Brandenburg was a claimant, eventually securing a part of them for himself. During the Thirty Years' War George William, elector until 1640, did not play a very glorious part, but under his son and successor, Frederick William, rightly called the Great Elector, a new chapter opened in the history of Brandenburg.

The first work of the new ruler was to free the electorate from the Swedes. After much difficulty he succeeded in this task, and at the peace of Westphalia he added the eastern part of Pomerania and the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Kammin, and Minden to his lands. His share in the struggle against Louis XIV. has already been told, and his victory at Fehrbellin over the Swedes mentioned. This was something of a revelation to Europe, and with it Prussia's military glory may be said to begin. When the great elector died in 1688, the area of Brandenburg had been increased to 40,000 square miles; its revenue had multiplied sevenfold, and its army was unsurpassed for efficiency. True, the elector had failed to dislodge the Swedes from Western Pomerania, but he had been recognized as independent duke of Prussia by both Sweden and Poland, the two countries which claimed supremacy over the duchy. For the internal welfare of his country he had also been solicitous. He encouraged trade and commerce, cut a canal from the Oder to the Spree, made the national revenue more productive and more regular, and founded colonies and a navy.

Frederick William's son and successor, Frederick, reaped what his father had sown. Like Ernest Augustus of Hanover, he took advantage of the needs of the Emperor Leopold, and just before the War of the Spanish Succession, when the help of his efficient army was badly

needed, he offered it, but at a price. This price was the title and position of king. It is not surprising that Leopold disliked this idea. He himself was German king, and also king of Hungary and Bohemia, but to create another would be to set a rival by his side. But he wanted the army of Brandenburg very much indeed, and he was obliged to consent; the main stipulation that he made was that the title should be taken from Prussia, which was outside his Empire, and not from Brandenburg, which was within it. In this way the elector of Brandenburg became king of Prussia, and in January, 1701, Frederick was crowned with great ceremony at Königsberg.

We must now take up again the main thread of German history, in which Brandenburg, or rather Prussia—as it should be called from this time—plays a bigger and bigger part. In 1697 the Emperor Leopold had signed the treaty of Ryswick with France, and in 1699, soon after Prince Eugenie's great victory at Zenta, he had made the peace of Carlowitz with the Turks. But his wars were not yet over.

At this time the king of Spain, like Leopold, a prince of the house of Habsburg, was Charles II. Weak in body and mind, he was childless, and as the years went on it seemed quite certain that he would leave no direct heir. The future of his great empire was a matter of great concern to the statesmen of Europe, and especially to the Emperor and to Louis XIV. of France, each related to the feeble king, and each anxious to secure his lands, either for himself or, failing that, for a member of his family. The Spanish monarchy included, in addition to Spain and the rich countries of South America, Naples, Sicily, and other parts of Italy and the southern portion of the Netherlands, and it was a prize indeed. As early as 1668 Louis and Leopold had arranged a secret partition treaty, and the possibility of dividing the spoil was always



A. Rischel.

FREDERICK I., KING OF PRUSSIA (1657-1713).

a factor in the relations, rarely peaceful, between the two monarchs during the succeeding thirty years.

But thirty years is a long time and many changes took place in it. When in 1697 the treaty of Ryswick was signed, Charles II. was still alive, but his end was obviously near. Louis therefore turned from Leopold to William III., and with him a partition of Spain was arranged. By this its future king was to be the electoral prince of Bavaria, a grandson of the Emperor, but one who would not in any event be able to unite Austria and Spain under the same ruler—a possibility which Louis was most anxious to avoid, and one which made him so hostile to Leopold. Unfortunately, in 1699, the electoral prince died, and another partition treaty was drawn up; this named the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's second son, as king of Spain, the claims of France being bought off with parts of Italy. This treaty, which was the best Louis could get from William III., was accepted by several of those concerned, but the Emperor would not assent to it, and he had not done so when in 1700 the Spanish king died. Just before his death, however, he had been persuaded to sign a will leaving his kingdom to Philip, duke of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV., and calmly ignoring the treaties of partition the French king accepted the throne on Philip's behalf.

In this way the war of the Spanish Succession was caused. The powers of Europe were angered and flouted by these proceedings, and their indignation was not lessened when Louis declared that his grandson's acceptance of the throne of Spain would not prevent him from succeeding to that of France. A union of two powerful countries—France and Spain, or Austria and Spain—was just what Europe feared, and to allay this dread both Louis and Leopold had stated emphatically that whoever became king of Spain must renounce his right to any other

crown. A war against France, however, was a big undertaking, and although the flagrant disregard of treaties and engagements shown by Louis made it imperative, it was some little time before the necessary league could be arranged. But at last, owing largely to the persistence of William III., it was done, and in September, 1701, Austria, England, and Holland agreed to make war on France, their object being to recover the Spanish possessions in Italy and the Netherlands, and to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain.

As usual, internal troubles prevented the German princes from giving very much assistance to the Emperor, when, in 1702, the war began. The jealousy felt towards the elector of Hanover had been revived; the hostile princes were able to reduce the diet to impotence, while they formed a fresh alliance at Nuremberg. Louis XIV. took advantage of these discords to draw several of the princes over to his side, and to secure the neutrality of others, and the participation of Augustus of Saxony in the war against Charles XII. of Sweden was a further advantage to him. Under these conditions the war began, but Leopold soon succeeded in winning the support of many princes who had pronounced themselves neutral, and in September, 1702, the Empire declared war on King Philip of Spain and his French supporters. A little later his son Charles was declared king of Spain, and was sent to that country, where he remained until almost the conclusion of the war.

The War of the Spanish Succession was waged in four different quarters—Italy, Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands—and its heroes were the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. In Germany, with which alone we are concerned here, it began in 1702, when a combined army of Dutch, Prussian, and Hanoverian soldiers invaded the electorate of Cologne, which was in

the occupation of France, and took Kaiserswerth, while an Austrian army under Louis of Baden crossed the Rhine and captured Landau. In the same year, however, the elector of Bavaria concluded a firm alliance with France, and the French troops took Trier, so that neither side could claim any substantial advantage. In 1703 the French took the offensive. Already in possession of Ulm, the elector of Bavaria joined his army to that of France, and it was suggested that he should march hard for Vienna. But the opportunity was lost. The Bavarians occupied themselves instead in campaigning against Prince Eugene in the mountainous district between Italy and Bavaria, and when they rejoined the French marshal Villars it was too late in the year for any big enterprise. In September one of the Emperor's armies was defeated at Höchstadt, and the other was forced to retreat, the result being the capture of Augsburg by the elector. On the Rhine the French had captured one or two fortresses, but the allies were heartened by two new allies—the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal.

These new allies were needed, for Vienna was still in danger, and the Emperor's difficulties were increased by a rebellion in Hungary; here the insurgents were masters of the greater part of the country, and from it were plundering Austria. From these dangers Leopold was extricated by the brilliance of Marlborough and the battle of Blenheim. Marching across Germany from the Netherlands, and strengthened by a contingent from Brandenburg, the duke was joined by the Imperialists under Prince Eugene and Louis of Baden. Then Eugene was detached to bar the French from sending more troops into Bavaria, while Marlborough and Louis forced the elector's position near Donauwörth, and placed themselves between him and Vienna. Both sides received reinforcements, Marlborough being joined by Eugene; and on August 13 the

great battle of Blenheim was fought. The allied victory was in every sense of the word decisive. The elector of Bavaria was driven from his land, and so was another ally of France, the elector of Cologne. Fortresses on the Rhine were captured, and the way was prepared for Eugene's successes in Italy, and for Marlborough's later campaigns in the Netherlands.

The fate of Bavaria was settled by a treaty signed before the end of the year. Practically it became for a time part of Austria. Except Munich, the whole land was governed by the Emperor's officials, and in 1705 they took charge of the capital also. Twice the peasantry rebelled against the rule of Austria, but each time they were ruthlessly crushed, and until 1715 the sons of the elector were kept in confinement. Finally, in 1706, the elector was placed under the imperial ban, and his position, together with the Upper Palatinate, was transferred to the elector palatine. Verily the wheel had come full circle, and the humiliation of Frederick, the "winter king," at the hands of Maximilian of Bavaria, was fully avenged.

In May, 1705, the Emperor Leopold, called by Carlyle "the little man in the red stockings," died. His successor was his eldest son, Joseph I., who had already been proclaimed king of Hungary by hereditary and not by elective right, and who had been chosen king of the Romans in 1690. He introduced new blood into the governing circle, and took steps to centralize the administration of his dominions; he quarrelled with the king of Prussia and other of his allies; he punished Pope Clement XI. for his partiality for France by sending troops into the papal states; and in other ways he acted energetically, if not always wisely, during his short reign of six years.

During 1705 and 1706 the great war continued, but, largely as the result of Blenheim, Germany was hardly

affected by it. Another war, however, troubled the country, or part of it, during the latter of these years. There were in Europe at this time two very remarkable princes—Augustus the Strong, who had been elector of Saxony since 1694, and Charles XII., the fighting king of Sweden. Augustus had been chosen king of Poland, and had also been deposed, and during these proceedings he had incurred the enmity of the king of Sweden, against whom he had fought. In 1706 Charles, being at the height of his power, marched into Saxony, and compelled Augustus to sign a treaty, by which he abandoned all claim on Poland. This being done, the Swedes took up their quarters in Saxony, and showed no sign of departure. The Saxon government appealed to the imperial diet and the Emperor, but the Swedish king turned a deaf ear to representations from that quarter, nursing instead several grievances against Joseph. He was in every way master of the situation. The Emperor dared not do anything to irritate him further, for Louis XIV. was already soliciting his aid; consequently, in 1707, Joseph made a treaty with him, by which Sweden obtained certain privileges for her lands in Germany, and some religious liberty was assured to the Silesian Protestants. Charles promised to take no part in the war and left Saxony, not for the south, as Louis hoped, but for the north. This result was largely due to the influence of Marlborough, who, fresh from his victory at Ramillies, had visited the Swedish king in Saxony, and had persuaded him to listen to the Emperor's advances.

By this time all Europe, and especially France, was tired of the war, with its terrible expenditure of men and money. Negotiations begun at the Hague in 1709 were broken off, as were also those at Gertruydenburg in 1710, the reason in both cases being the extent of the demands made by the allies upon Louis. This may have been due

to the fact that the former were gaining ground. In Hungary the rebellion had been partially stamped out, and the allied armies had been successful both in Spain and the Netherlands. A change, however, followed the dismissal of Marlborough in 1711, while a renewal of war in Northern Europe made it likely that the king of Prussia and other princes whose lands were endangered would be obliged to withdraw their troops from Italy and Spain. This, however, was avoided by the intervention of England, Holland, and the Emperor.

In April, 1711, the Emperor Joseph died, and his brother Charles, in spite of the opposition of France, was elected emperor in October, 1711. The new ruler was that archduke Charles who, in 1700, had been put forward as king of Spain in opposition to Philip of Anjou, and he was in that country fighting for his throne when his brother died. His election made it easier for peace to be concluded, because, now he was ruler of Germany, his allies, England and Holland, were not at all anxious to see him king of Spain as well. With these two countries a number of German princes entered into a new agreement in which they arranged between themselves the terms to be offered to France.

After secret negotiations between England and France had made some progress, the peace congress met at Utrecht in January, 1712, and in April, 1713, a treaty was signed by England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy with France. To this the Emperor refused to agree, and in 1712 and 1713 his troops were fighting with indifferent success against France. At Denain Eugene was beaten by Villars, who captured Landau and Freiburg; and after these and other defeats Charles was more inclined to come to terms with his foe. Consequently, in March, 1714, he signed a treaty at Rastadt with France, and at Baden in the succeeding September

the states of the Empire did the same. The conclusion of these treaties gives a good idea of the divided condition of Germany at this time, for it was almost impossible for the country to do as France and England had just done, and to make peace at one time. In Germany so many conflicting interests had to be considered, with the result that part of the land was at peace, while another part was at war. At Utrecht Brandenburg had signed a peace with France; at Rastadt the Emperor, as ruler of Austria and Hungary, did the same; but the Empire was theoretically at war until its members had formally assented to the treaty of Baden.

As far as Germany is concerned the provisions of the three treaties can soon be summarized. The Emperor secured Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the southern or Spanish Netherlands as his share of the Spanish monarchy; a little later he exchanged Sardinia for Sicily. France retained Alsace, including Strassburg, but surrendered Freiburg, Breisach, and Kehl. The banned electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored, and the new kingdom of Prussia was recognized.

In the years following the peace the growing independence of the German states became more marked than ever. Prussia under her second king, Frederick William I., was in no way subject to the imperial authority; Hanover, under King George of England, was rising to importance; and Saxony, under Augustus, who was again king of Poland, was also a factor in the affairs of Northern Europe. It is wrong, however, to speak of these years as years of peace, for in parts of Germany a war was raging. The conflict between Sweden on the one side and a group of allies—Denmark, Russia, and Poland—on the other, was being fought on German soil. Bremen and Verden were invaded by the Danes, and Western Pomerania, also a Swedish possession, by the Russians and the Poles.

Returning from Turkey, Charles XII. took up the struggle against these foes, who were soon joined by Hanover and Prussia. In 1715 Stralsund was taken, and when in 1716 the allies captured Wismar, Sweden had lost all her German possessions—all her gains at the treaty of Westphalia. Prussia and Hanover then sought to make peace, but Peter the Great, who was interfering in Mecklenburg, where he supported the duke in some resistance to the Emperor, was opposed to it and the war dragged on. In 1718 Charles XII. was killed, and those responsible for Sweden's foreign policy became more pacific. The result was a series of treaties beginning with one at Stockholm between Sweden and Hanover in 1719, and ending with one with Russia in 1721, which ended this war. The net result of them, so far as they affected Germany, was that Hanover obtained the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, and Prussia obtained Western Pomerania and the islands of Usedom and Wollin, both paying in return a sum of money to Sweden.

In these affairs the Emperor Charles took little or no part. In 1716 he had begun a war against Turkey, during which Prince Eugene won the battle of Peterwardein and captured Belgrade; and when peace was made in 1718 the Sultan surrendered the remaining part of Hungary and the northern portion of Servia, including Belgrade. Charles had also to counter the designs of his old enemy Philip, king of Spain, who was negotiating with various European sovereigns to secure his own accession to the throne of France, and to deprive the Emperor of his recent Italian gains. To meet this, Charles made a treaty with George I. of Great Britain and with Holland; this was for the maintenance of the treaty of Utrecht, and in 1718 it was joined by France, and became known as the quadruple alliance. The allies attacked Spain and Philip was soon obliged to yield.



THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA OF HANOVER.

Mother of George I. and grand-daughter of James I.

From the painting of the School of Honthorst in the National Portrait Gallery.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE WARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

"AND Amurath to Amurath succeeds." The successor of Louis XIV. as the dominant figure in Europe was Frederick the Great, but a quarter of a century elapsed before he came upon the scene, and the history of this period must be briefly recorded. Under her eccentric king, Frederick William, whose hobby was the collection of giants for his army, Prussia made great progress. The expenses of government were greatly reduced, and the national revenue was increased, so that when he died in 1740, he left to his son, Frederick II., called later the Great, a full treasury, an efficient army, and a contented people.

While Frederick William was making Prussia into a European power, Charles VI. was scheming for the future of his race, and Germany was troubled by religious discords, reminiscent of the sixteenth century. Cologne, wherein both Protestants and Roman Catholics were about equal, was a storm centre. Some dispute arose, and at once one party argued that it was a question affecting religion, and the other urged that it was not, the reason being that by the peace of Westphalia religious questions were treated in a different manner from secular ones. Other difficulties were caused by the fact that two electors, Augustus of Saxony and the ruler of the Palatinate, became Roman Catholics, while their subjects, or most of them, remained Protestants. In

the Palatinate the elector oppressed those who differed from him, and the Protestants there sought and obtained relief from the intervention of the king of Prussia and other Protestant princes. In Bavaria the elector, Max Emanuel, who was allowed to return in 1715, passed his time in making friends with the Emperor, and in securing rich bishoprics for his numerous sons.

Charles VI. is chiefly associated with the clumsy phrase, the "Pragmatic sanction," a term which may be roughly defined as a business arrangement. In plain English, he wanted to make his lands into a single and centralized monarchy, to do for them what Ferdinand and Isabella had done for Spain, what Edward I. had done for England, and the kings of the fifteenth century for France. He ruled over several countries, and all by different titles. He wanted to rule over one only, and with a single unquestioned title. To take an analogy, he was somewhat in the position of an Englishman who owns several adjacent bits of land. Of these one is freehold, and another leasehold ; a third is copyhold of one manor, and a fourth copyhold of another. This irritates him, and he wants to make them into a single estate with a single set of deeds.. So did Charles VI. He was Emperor by election, he was king of Bohemia and king of Hungary by hereditary right, but a right which rested on two entirely different foundations; he was archduke of Austria by an older and less contestable kind of hereditary right, and in different ways his ancestors had obtained and handed on to him Styria, Carinthia, Tirol and the rest of his lands.

In 1713, when this matter was first considered, the Emperor had no children. In 1716 a son was born, but he died in a few months, and in the following years he had three other children, but all were daughters. This made him more anxious than ever to come to a satis-

factory arrangement about the succession, and in 1720 and 1722 the pragmatic sanction, providing for the succession of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, to her father's dominions, was approved by the various local diets in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. But this was not sufficient. Charles wanted the powers of Europe to guarantee the arrangement, and this was much less easy. He had just offended the two mercantile countries, England and Holland, by forming an Austrian trading company, which, in the enjoyment of great privileges, was competing for the trade of the Indies, and unless these privileges were revoked they refused to have anything to do with the sanction. With Spain, which had just quarrelled with her ally France, he made in 1725 a close alliance, but this provoked a counter league between England and France, and he was no nearer to his goal. This alliance between England and France was joined by Frederick William of Prussia, to whom was promised the duchies of Jülich and Berg, which would shortly be without a ruler, and to which the Emperor himself, through his mother, had a claim. If the Emperor made war on France, the kings of England and Prussia, both imperial princes, undertook to help, not their overlord Charles, but his foe. But undaunted by this move, the Emperor next won the consent of the electors of Bavaria, the Palatinate, Cologne, and Trier to his sanction. Armed assistance was promised by them in case of war, and to the elector palatine in return Jülich and Berg. Add to all these difficulties trouble over the duchy of Schleswig, during which Russia made an alliance with Charles VI., and promised to respect the pragmatic sanction, and there was every likelihood of a general European war. Just the spark was wanted. But the spark was not applied to the mine, at least not at present. In 1726 the Emperor and

the king of Prussia concluded an alliance, the king, like every other ally of Charles, undertaking to respect the pragmatic sanction. But as the Emperor gained Prussia over to his side, he lost Bavaria. In 1726 the elector made a secret treaty with France, in which his claim on part of Austria was recognized, and in a little while he brought with him the elector palatine and the elector of Trier. On the other hand, he failed to move the elector of Cologne from the imperial alliance.

These tortuous proceedings and insincere arrangements have only one value for us. They show the aims of the various parties—France still as ever ruthlessly hostile to the Habsburgs, Charles sacrificing everything to secure the succession of Maria Theresa and the pragmatic sanction; England and Spain using the German situation to serve their own ends of aggression; Bavaria and Prussia seeking to add neighbouring districts, and all alike bent on winning allies by promising eagerly to them the lands of someone else.

In 1727, when Spain was besieging Gibraltar, a general war seemed imminent; but it was averted by the peaceable Frenchman, Cardinal Fleury, and an arrangement was made by which Charles suspended the operations of his trading company, called the Ostend Company, for seven years. England and Holland in return guaranteed the pragmatic sanction. Charles, then, in 1728, bound Prussia by a new treaty more closely to himself, and, in 1728 also, Frederick William and Hanover, then under George II., quarrelled and nearly fought over the affairs of the duchy of Mecklenburg. At the same time Spain deserted the Emperor and signed the treaty of Seville with France and England. However, in 1731, something like a general pacification was made. Charles definitely destroyed the Ostend Company, and in return Great Britain guaranteed the sanction. To this treaty

of Vienna, Holland and Spain gave their adherence, and the air was certainly clearer. The pragmatic sanction seemed safe if guarantees could make it so, for in 1732 the Emperor secured for it the support of the Empress Anne of Russia and of the king of Denmark.

In 1732 the sanction lacked the support of France and of the imperial diet, but in spite of the protests of three electors—the Palatinate, Bavaria, and Saxony—the diet approved it in that year. The dissenting electors were all bound to the interests of France, and in addition, Augustus of Saxony, like the elector of Bavaria, had hopes of securing for himself some of the Austrian lands. This was indicative of the real danger of the situation, and it explains why Charles sacrificed so much to win support for his plan. If he died leaving only daughters, it was quite certain that, without some very definite and assured arrangement, prince after prince would assert that this archduchy and that crownland could not descend to a female, and that it belonged rightfully to him.

To gain the support of Augustus, the Emperor, in 1733, promised troops to assist him in Poland, where his rival for the throne was the protégé of France, Stanislaus Leszczynski. In reply to this challenge, France and Spain declared war on Charles, took possession of Lorraine and captured Kehl. The Emperor turned to his allies and to the German states for help, but the former refused, and although the latter, through the imperial diet, declared war, they could do very little in face of the decision of Bavaria, the Palatinate and Cologne to remain neutral. Very grudgingly, because some demands were refused, the king of Prussia sent 10,000 men to the Rhine, where the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene, were able to do very little. In Poland the Saxons and their Russian allies, however, managed to drive out Stanislaus and

to secure the throne for Augustus. In 1735 Prince Eugene was victorious, and in the same year a treaty was arranged between the principal combatants, by which France guaranteed the pragmatic sanction. This was accepted by the other countries concerned in 1736, and the war was over. Charles felt that the object of his life had been at last secured, and his daughter and heiress, Maria Theresa, was married to Francis of Lorraine, just made grand duke of Tuscany.

Before his death the Emperor was engaged in a war with Turkey. This was due to his alliance with Russia. To that power he had promised aid, and when, in 1735, she declared war on the Sultan, he was asked to make good his word. He did so, and sent three armies against the enemy; but his generals were very unsuccessful, he obtained very little help from the princes, and in 1739 he was glad to make peace and to surrender the lands gained at the peace of 1718. His last year or two were spent in a vain attempt to make friends with the elector of Bavaria, and in watching a growing estrangement from Prussia and the efforts of a dozen competitors to secure the duchies of Jülich and Berg. In October, 1740, he died, having outlived by a few months his contemporary, Frederick William of Prussia.

Such was the position when, in 1740, Frederick the Great became king of Prussia, and Maria Theresa became Empress. On the strength of an old treaty made in 1537 between the house of Habsburg and Hohenzollern, already mentioned in these pages, Frederick claimed three Silesian duchies—Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau—asserting that, as by the death of Charles VI. the house of Habsburg had become extinct, he was entitled to them. The matter was not so simple as this, however. The treaty of 1537 had been declared invalid, and had been supplanted by another; moreover, Frederick William

had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction. To this the new king replied that Austria had not kept her engagements, and consequently he was freed from his.

Frederick meant to secure the duchies, and as Maria Theresa would not surrender them, the first Silesian war was begun in 1741 The Prussians invaded Silesia, gained the victory of Mollwitz, and concluded a secret treaty with France by which Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, was to be chosen emperor. Further rents were soon to be made in the pragmatic sanction. In 1741 Bavaria attacked Austria, and Augustus of Saxony supported the elector's claim on Bohemia and other parts of Maria Theresa's possessions. Russia, owing to a war with Sweden, could not assist the Empress, and in face of the advance of a French army, George II. declared Hanover neutral. The elector of Bavaria and his French allies took possession of Upper Austria without much difficulty, and captured Prague, and by this time Frederick was master of all Silesia, and was invading Moravia. Pressed on all sides, Maria Theresa was compelled to assent to his terms, and by a treaty of 1742 Prussia secured Silesia, both upper and lower, and the county of Glatz.

Early in 1748 the elector of Bavaria had been chosen and crowned Emperor as Charles VII., and again, as in the Middle Ages, Germany was suffering from a rivalry as of king and anti-king. Maria Theresa, having rid herself of Frederick, continued the war against France and Bavaria, and met with conspicuous success. The English King George II. came to her aid, and in 1743 she received homage in Munich, the capital of her foe, while about the same time the French met with a check at Dettingen. The treaty of Worms, signed between Austria, Great Britain, and Sardinia, was joined by the elector of Saxony and several ecclesiastical princes; Holland and

Russia promised support to the same side, and it was now Frederick, and not Maria Theresa, who was almost isolated in Europe. In June, 1744, the Prussian king renewed his league with France, and made alliances with the elector palatine and the ruler of Hesse-Cassel, their objects being to secure the imperial position for Charles of Bavaria—the Emperor Charles VII.,—freedom for the Empire, and peace for all Europe. Charles VII. joined Frederick, and war was declared on Great Britain and Austria. This was the second Silesian war.

Frederick's first exploit was to invade Bohemia and to capture Prague, where for the second time Charles of Bavaria was hailed as king. But soon a united army of Austrians and Saxons drove the Prussians from Bohemia, and followed up this success by invading Silesia. Bavaria, too, was invaded, and in January, 1745, Frederick's ally, the Emperor Charles VII., died. For various reasons France was doing very little to aid the Prussians, and, flushed with success, Austria and her friends formed at Warsaw a new and stronger alliance. Its object was to reduce Frederick to the position of elector of Brandenburg. In this event Austria and Saxony were to receive the lion's share of the lands taken from him. About the same time the new elector of Bavaria made peace, and it seemed as if nothing could save Frederick from defeat and Prussia from dismemberment. In September, 1745, Maria Theresa was strong enough to secure the election of her husband as Emperor; he became the Emperor Francis I., and was the founder of the existing family of Habsburg-Lorraine.

Under these adverse conditions Frederick showed his genius. His French allies gained a victory at Fontenoy, and he won two battles on his way to Bohemia, while his enemies formed a new plan for humiliating him. Owing to further victories on the part of Prussia, how-

ever, these remained dreams only. In 1745 Frederick entered Dresden, the Saxon capital, and there made peace with Austria and Saxony, the basis of it being a convention just signed at Hanover between Prussia and Great Britain. For the second time the possession of Silesia was assured to Prussia, and Francis of Lorraine was recognized as Emperor.

Frederick was now able to devote himself to governing his country and to gratifying his taste for the society of men of letters. He was an enlightened ruler, far in advance of his age. Religious opinions of all kinds were tolerated in Prussia, where the one thing needful in the people was good citizenship. He was on good terms with the Pope, but for political reasons he kept Prussia in her position of a Protestant state, and was careful to check the collection of wealth and power in clerical hands. He abolished the use of torture and improved the administration of justice. He cared especially for the interests of the peasantry, while not neglecting to stimulate trade and commerce by protective measures, and to encourage the immigration of foreign craftsmen. These benefits conferred on his people were counterbalanced by the enormous sums of money which they had to find for the upkeep of the army; but the one policy was the complement of the other. Frederick wanted internal prosperity in order to provide for external success.

While Frederick was giving his mind to these reforms, England and France were still fighting and new complications were appearing in Europe. In 1746 Russia, threatened by Prussia's appearance as a northern power, made an alliance with Austria, and in 1747 Frederick signed one with Russia's ancient foe, Sweden. In 1749, just after England and France had concluded the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, war was narrowly avoided but preparations for a conflict went steadily forward.

Meanwhile in Austria, as in Prussia, domestic reforms were being instituted. Maria Theresa, although much less progressive in her ideas than her rival, was anxious to make her country more prosperous and more strong. Her great object was to centralize the government—to subject all the various provinces to one uniform control. At the same time the laws, the finances and the army were improved, the interests of trade were not forgotten, and, although a devout Roman Catholic, the Empress saw that the Church was subordinate to the State.

But Maria Theresa and her advisers could not give their full attention to these matters. About 1750 they experienced two rebuffs from France and Prussia, these powers preventing the election of the Empress's son Joseph as king of the Romans, and of her husband's kinsman, Charles Alexander of Lorraine, as king of Poland. But a change was at hand; old alliances were about to be broken and new ones to be made.

In 1752 there was trouble between Frederick and Great Britain. The former detained some money intended to repay a loan borrowed in England for Silesia in 1735, and used it to compensate Prussian shipowners whose vessels had been seized by British cruisers during the Jacobite rising of 1745. About the same time diplomatic relations between Prussia and Russia were broken off, and England and France were practically at war in India and America. Each power looked round eagerly for allies, and the most remarkable outcome of the situation was a sudden friendship between those old enemies, France and Austria. By this the position was radically altered. Great Britain was forced to approach Prussia, and when the famous Seven Years' War broke out in 1756, it was with a change of partners. No longer were England and Austria pitted against France and Prussia; it was England and Prussia against France and Austria.

As before, Austria formulated a plan for reducing Frederick to a very minor position in Europe, and this was approved by Russia and France, but, as before, it failed. Early in 1757 the two final and decisive treaties of alliance were signed; in August Frederick declared war on Austria and his troops invaded Saxony, still an ally of the Empress.

The Seven Years' War was a European struggle, and it is a matter of common knowledge how England's money kept Frederick's army in the field, and so contributed largely to her own successes in India and America. As far as it concerned Germany the struggle may be sketched briefly here, but its wider course is outside the scope of these pages. Frederick's first victory, that of Lobositz, was gained over the Saxons and Austrians. As a result of this battle Saxony came almost entirely into his power, and part of its army took service with him. In May, 1757, he defeated the Austrians outside Prague, and drove them with great loss and greater confusion into the city; but it was saved from capture by a Prussian defeat at Kolin, after which Frederick was forced to retreat from Bohemia into Saxony. By this time the rest of his foes were making a tardy appearance in the field. The French were invading Hanover, the Russians were invading Prussia, and the Swedes had landed in Pomerania. The fate of Hanover was soon settled. The English troops defending it were beaten at Hastenbeck, and before Frederick could succour them the duke of Cumberland had signed the convention of Kloster Seven and had surrendered the land to France. Prussian misfortunes followed. A big army raised by the imperial princes, who in the diet had, by a great majority, declared war on Frederick, was in the field and was marching to join the French; the Russians had been victorious in their first battle; and, worse than all, some

Austrians had plundered Berlin. Relief came from Frederick's memorable victory at Rossbach in Saxony (November 5, 1757), over the Imperialists and the French. A month later the king, having marched to the relief of his beaten generals in Silesia, gained an equally striking success at Leuthen over the Austrians. Between the two victories, however, his general, the duke of Brunswick-Bevern, had been beaten at Breslau, and had abandoned that city. At the same time his allies, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, were driving the French from Hanover and Hesse, and in June, 1758, they defeated the French at Crefeldt.

With these victories behind him, and freed, owing to the wintry weather, from the advances of the Russians and the Swedes, Frederick, early in 1758, invaded Austria. After reaching Olmütz, which he failed to take, he deemed it prudent to retreat in order to defend Prussia, and at Zorndorf in that duchy he fought a terrible but indecisive battle with the Russians. A little later, at Hochkirch in Saxony, he was all but overwhelmed by the Austrians, but in a few days he had recovered his superiority and relieved Dresden from attack.

Great Britain's *annus mirabilis* (1759) was a year of disaster for her ally. Prussia was exhausted by the tremendous efforts she had made, and her army was weakened by its enormous losses. A victory gained by the Russians was followed by the total defeat of Frederick at Kunersdorf, the greatest calamity of his career, by the surrender of Dresden and the loss of 12,000 men, captured at Maxen. Against these and other disasters must be set the victory of his allies over the French at Minden, and the British successes in Canada and India. Frederick boldly kept the field in 1760, although for the first time his allies had arranged for a combined attack on him. One of his armies was practically destroyed by the

Austrians at Landeshut, but he extricated himself from extraordinary difficulties during a campaign in Silesia, which was wound up by a victory over the Austrians at Liegnitz. Berlin was captured by his enemies, but was quickly relieved; and then at Torgau the Imperialists were repulsed, although the heavier losses were with their foes.

By this time the war was almost over. In 1761 the British and their allies lost ground to the French in Brunswick, while Frederick was operating against the Russians. In 1762 the king made peace with the new Czar, and regained Pomerania and secured the military aid of the Russians. Over the Austrians he gained two or three victories, the most noticeable being the one at Freiberg in October, while Ferdinand of Brunswick defeated the French, who were forced to retreat across the Rhine. In 1762, however, Prussia, which had just made peace with Sweden, was abandoned by Great Britain, which came to terms with France and Spain. Austria and Prussia were left to fight it out, but both were terribly exhausted, and the former was forsaken by nearly all the German princes except the elector of Saxony. Negotiations for peace, therefore, were begun, the result being the treaty of Hubertsburg, signed in February, 1763. Frederick kept Silesia, but he got nothing from the war which had cost his land the lives of 180,000 soldiers. Nor, for that matter, did Austria and Saxony. In their prostrate condition, all three were glad to make peace on the condition that they kept the lands they had before 1756, when the war broke out.

CHAPTER XIX

GERMANY BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

For just a century from 1763 Austria and Prussia as ivals dominated Germany; and then came the final struggle between them, and the exclusion of Austria from the country over which her princes had ruled for nearly four hundred years.

After the conclusion of peace in 1763, Frederick had plenty to do in repairing the ravages of war in his country, and here his indomitable energy succeeded to a remarkable extent. In some of the provinces of Prussia the taxes were reduced by one-half, and to those which had suffered most a sum of money was given. At the king's orders, 8,000 houses are said to have been built in Silesia, manufactures were encouraged, and the coinage was restored to its proper value. Schools were established, and great care was taken to provide the people with a quick and untainted system of justice. Less popular with his people was his system of collecting the taxes, known as the *Regie*. This was largely borrowed from France, and was administered by French officials. In all these matters Frederick himself took the leading part, regarding himself, as he said, as the first servant of the state.

Maria Theresa, in Vienna, was also looking after her own interests. In 1763 her son Joseph was elected king of the Romans, and when his father, the Emperor Francis I., died, in 1765, he became the Emperor Joseph II.,

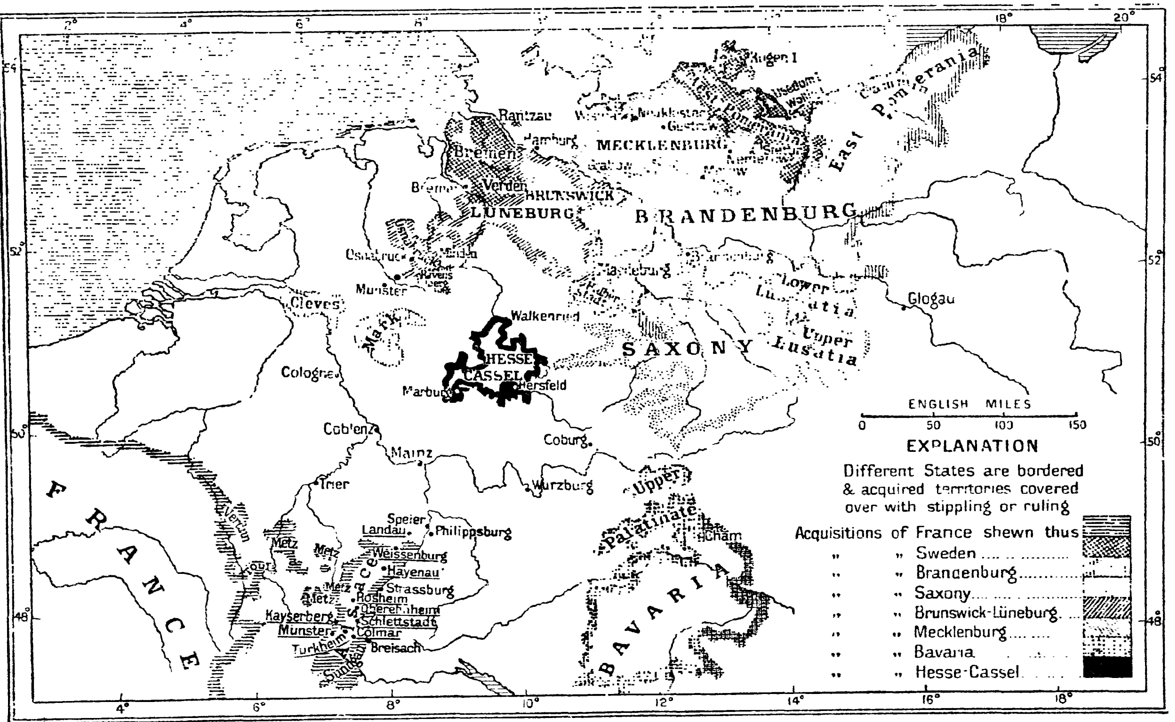
and incidentally a great admirer of Frederick the Great. As co-regent with his mother, he took part in the government, but the ideas of the two were frequently at variance; and although the Emperor did something to improve the army and the condition of the country's finances, his power was very restricted until his mother's death, in 1780. His attempts to revivify the constitution of the Empire failed, for he could not restore the *Reichskammergericht* to a position of authority.

Just after the war Frederick the Great concluded an alliance with Russia, then under the Empress Catherine. This was in 1764, and in the next few years it was twice renewed; but the king was very reluctant to help his ally in a war against Turkey, although he had promised to do so. Under these conditions Joseph visited Frederick in 1769, and the idea was entertained that the king of Prussia should abandon Russia and ally himself with Austria, and then a proposal for an alliance between the three powers was put forward.

On the borders of the three countries was the kingdom of Poland. This country, owing partly to its system of electing its kings, was in a continual state of unrest, and had been for three centuries or more the scene of foreign intrigues and interference. About this time the idea of partitioning it was brought forward, and was discussed by the several sovereigns. Frederick, Catherine and Joseph were in favour of it; Maria Theresa, however, was decidedly hostile, but her objections were overborne by the perseverance of her son and her minister Kaunitz. The details of the partition were soon arranged. In 1772 the treaties were signed, and about one-quarter of Poland was seized by the three countries. Austria received the greater part of Galicia, about 1,700 square miles, and Prussia about 630 square miles on her south-eastern frontier.

Bavaria next offered a suitable field for aggression. In 1777 the elector Maximilian Joseph died without sons, and his kinsman, Charles Theodore, the elector palatine, was recognized as his successor. The matter had been talked over before the death of the elector, and schemes for exchanging parts of Bavaria for parts of Austria had been discussed; but when the event happened the Emperor Joseph, again ignoring his mother's wishes, claimed a good deal of Bavaria as lapsed fiefs of Austria and Bohemia, and took forcible possession of it. More than this, he came to an arrangement with the new elector, who had no legitimate sons, by which he recognized the Austrian claim for himself and his heirs. To this the next heir, Charles of Zweibrücken, objected very strongly, and he found a supporter in Frederick the Great. Both sides prepared for war, Joseph relying on the aid of France; but this was not forthcoming, and he saw that he must face the Prussians alone. The war, however, was not a very serious affair. Frederick marched into Silesia, but almost at once Austria offered terms of peace, and in 1779 the dispute was settled by the treaty of Teschen. Austria secured the district of the Inn, and Prussia the succession to Ansbach and Baireuth, while a claim put forward by Saxony was bought off. The rest of Bavaria was assured to Charles Theodore and his heirs. Soon after the signature of this treaty Maria Theresa died (November 29, 1780).

Joseph reigned alone from 1780 to 1790. During these ten years his great activities only resulted in irritating his subjects and alarming his neighbours. Owing to his interference, the Reichstag ceased to take part in public business for five years. By proposing to reduce the areas of several dioceses he offended the ecclesiastical princes, who appealed to Berlin and Paris for support; and by treating with Russia for the partition of Turkey



PRUSSIA SHOWING EXPANSION OF TERRITORY, 1648–1795.

he increased the suspicions of Frederick the Great. Another scheme was one for exchanging the Spanish Netherlands for Bavaria. Russia promised assistance to this proposal, France seemed favourable and the elector of Bavaria gave his consent, but nothing came of it. The Emperor also tried, but again without success, to obtain the opening of the Scheldt to the trading vessels of his Flemish subjects. In this matter he managed, not only to enrage the Dutch, but also those he wished to benefit.

The repeated failures of Joseph, at least until 1786, were due to Frederick the Great, who was to the end suspicious and watchful of Austria. About 1778, or perhaps earlier, he had entertained the idea of checking the Emperor's ambition by means of a league of princes, the example of the league of Schmalkalden being in his mind. Joseph's evident designs on Bavaria, his close alliance with Russia, and his advances to France, spurred Frederick on, for against this combination he could certainly not form one equally strong. England, at one time a useful ally, was exhausted after her American war. Moreover, since the events of 1762 the Prussian king had been far from friendly with her. He had joined the armed neutrality of 1780 against her, and his sympathies had been avowedly with the Dutch in the recent quarrel between the two trading countries. Under these conditions a league of German princes was the best—nay, the only—defence for Prussia, and in 1785 the *Fürstenbund* came into being. Its formation was not easy, for the smaller states were afraid of Austria; but Hanover and Saxony gave them a lead, and the league was formally concluded in July. The three original signatories undertook to maintain the imperial constitution and the rights of the several states, and to prevent the exchange of Bavaria for Belgium. Among the other members of

the *Fürstenbund* were the rulers of Mainz, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg. In the following year (August 17, 1786) Frederick the Great died, and his nephew, Frederick William II., became king of Prussia. The *Fürstenbund* achieved nothing after its founder's death, but it is interesting as the first open attempt of Prussia to take the lead in Germany.

Freed from this watchful foe, the Emperor Joseph was more at liberty to carry out his ideas of enlightened despotism; but it was too late. His aims and intentions were excellent. He was in favour of religious liberty; he would free the peasants from their burdens and trade from its artificial restrictions. Following the example of Frederick the Great, he did something to improve education and the administration of justice, to settle colonists in the outlying parts of his lands, and to make the clergy thoroughly subordinate to the state.

The year of Frederick's death, 1786, is memorable for the "punctation of Ems," a document signed by the four German archbishops—Mainz, Cologne, Trier, and Salzburg—who in it claimed freedom from the Pope. It aroused a good deal of opposition, and, although the Emperor was favourably inclined to it, it achieved no result, owing partly to the defection of the archbishop of Mainz. In 1790 the archbishops made peace with the Pope, and the hope of creating for Germany a national church vanished.

In 1788 Austria, as the ally of Russia, became involved in a war with Turkey, and about this time Belgium, the new name for the Austrian Netherlands, revolted. The Emperor himself led his troops into Turkey, but the campaign was a disastrous one, and he returned to Vienna anxious only to make peace, although after his departure the Austrian army had met with several successes. His land was endangered, he thought, by the intrigues of

Prussia, as in 1788 her new king had made an alliance with Great Britain, and this had been joined by Holland and Sweden. When, early in 1790, Frederick William signed a treaty with Turkey, preparations were made to resist a Prussian attack, but it did not come. Joseph's final trouble came from Hungary. In that country the malcontents had visited Berlin in search of help, and in January, 1790, the Emperor, only a few days before his death, assented to their demands and withdrew the many reforms introduced by him since 1780.

During the later years of the eighteenth century the smaller states of Germany were not in a very satisfactory condition. Especially in the west of the land, the princes regarded Louis XIV. as their model, and their attempts to make their tiny courts at Baireuth, Cassel, and elsewhere imitations of Versailles, and to build magnificent palaces for themselves, only landed them in ruinous expenditure. To provide this money some of them adopted the plan of hiring out their soldiers as mercenaries, and during the wars of the century a good business was done. Württemberg, under Duke Charles Eugene, called the "Württemberg Herod," was in a deplorable condition. In 1770 Prussia and other German states arranged a dispute between him and his people, but he continued his despotic courses until his death, in 1793; and other princes, including one who compelled all his peasants to become soldiers, were equally bad. On the other hand, some princes preferred the example of Frederick the Great to that of Louis, and tried to improve the condition of their people. Among these were Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, Charles Augustus of Saxe-Weimar and Charles Frederick of Baden, who abolished the use of torture and then servitude in his land. Saxony, freed since 1763 from its costly connection with Poland, made



FREDERICK THE GREAT (1712-86).

From a painting by H. Pataky.

great progress under Frederick Augustus III., and during his long reign its condition was very much improved. Among the ecclesiastical rulers there were excellent electors in Mainz and Cologne, and enlightened bishops in Munster and Bamberg. But great changes were at hand, and from these good and bad suffered alike.

CHAPTER XX

GERMANY AND NAPOLEON

In 1790, just before the appearance of Napoleon on the scene, the head of Germany was the new emperor, Leopold II. In Austria and Bohemia he was known and respected, but in the rest of the country he was little more than a cipher, more powerless even than the Reichstag, or diet, which at Regensburg was dragging out the final years of its existence. As strong as, or probably stronger than, Leopold was the king of Prussia, Frederick William II., and between the two, in practice as distinct from theory, the headship of the country was divided. Below these rulers the next pair of princes were the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, the former much stronger since 1777, when the two electorates—Bavaria and the Palatinate—had been united. Four of the nine electorates remain to be mentioned: the three ecclesiastical ones, Mainz, Cologne, and Trier; and Hanover, ruled over by the king of England, George III. Of the remaining states, the most powerful were perhaps Württemberg, Baden and Hesse-Cassel, while Mecklenburg was big but poor.

Both the new rulers, Frederick William II. and Leopold, introduced considerable changes in their lands. In Prussia, the former in several ways reversed the policy of Frederick the Great: notably by abolishing the *Regie* and raising money in quite different ways, and by allowing the control of the army to pass out of his own hands.

In 1791 he dismissed his minister Hertzberg, whose aim was to continue the anti-Austrian policy of Frederick the Great, and in the same year he secured Ansbach and Baireuth, which had been assured to him by the treaty of Teschen (1779). In 1787 the king had sent an army into Holland in the interests of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange. An easy victory was obtained, but Prussia secured nothing from the enterprise, not even the cost of the war.

Meanwhile, in Austria and Hungary, Leopold was pacifying his people, irritated by the changes introduced by Joseph. In Hungary the policy of centralization was abandoned, and the old and cherished privileges of the people were restored; while in Austria and Bohemia similar measures were carried through. In foreign policy two matters claimed the Emperor's special attention. With Prussia certain questions were still unsettled, and in each country there was a party in favour of war; and, as Russia's ally, Austria was still fighting the Turks. Ignoring the advice of Kaunitz, Leopold adopted a very conciliatory attitude, in spite of the fact that Prussia was in league with the malcontents in various parts of his dominions. The result was a meeting at Reichenbach, at which Leopold allayed the suspicions of Prussia by promising to restore the lands taken from the Turks, and following up this he made the peace of Sistowa with the sultan in 1791. The whole effect of these transactions was to restore the *status quo* of 1788. This being done, Leopold was formally elected king and Emperor in September, 1791, and was crowned a few days later. He then crushed a new rising in Belgium, and turned to deal with the problems of the French Revolution.

Leopold's sister was the unfortunate queen of France, Marie Antoinette, and it was her danger which roused

him to action. At first he turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the French emigrants, but his hands were forced by the designs of Russia and by the danger to the French sovereigns, and in July, 1791, Austria and Prussia took the preliminary steps towards forming an alliance against France. At Pillnitz, Leopold had an interview with Frederick William, but he still hoped for peace, in spite of the disturbances caused by the French in the western parts of Germany. He had just signed a formal alliance providing for joint action with Prussia, when he died, on March 1, 1792.

The new ruler, Leopold's son Francis II., was less pacific. He believed that the French Revolution should be crushed, and in April, 1792, war was declared. In the following July, Francis was chosen and crowned Emperor, all the ancient ceremonies being observed for the last time. Frederick William took part in the war, and many of the German princes proffered assistance; but the king of Prussia was more interested in the affairs of Poland than in those of France, and this did not help matters. In that country, Russia, taking advantage of the occupation of Austria and Prussia, was intriguing and fighting, while Frederick William was determined also to interfere. He occupied Great Poland, and the result was the second partition of Poland, by which, in 1793, Prussia secured Danzig and Thorn, long the objects of her ambition. From this partition Austria was excluded.

In the Rhineland the results of the Revolution were almost as marked as in France itself. Worms, Spires, Mainz and Frankfort were captured by the French, and a victory at Jemappes laid Belgium at their feet. Frankfort was recovered by the Germans, but the terrified rulers of Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt were treating with France, and the left bank of the Rhine was entirely lost.

By this time the first coalition had been formed against France. In 1793 the Empire declared war and raised an army, but its prosecution was hampered by the concurrent happenings in Poland, and by the evident desire of Frederick William to turn his whole attention to that country. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that very little was done. The Austrians and Prussians did, indeed, recover Mainz, but their jealousies prevented them from following up this success. The troops of Brunswick, Baden and Hesse were hired by Great Britain for service in the Netherlands. The year 1794 was equally unfortunate for the allies, although Prussia, as the result of a treaty with Great Britain, entered more heartily into the struggle, but only for a very short time.

In 1794 most of the German rulers desired peace. Chief. among these was Frederick William, who hoped by taking the lead in this matter to add to his influence in Germany. He was also anxious to prevent Russia from interfering alone in Poland, where a rising had just broken out, and late in the year he ordered his army home from the Rhine. On the other hand, an attempt was made to form a strong protective alliance among the princes, but this had no result. On April 5, 1795, Prussia signed with France the peace of Basel, surrendering by this her possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and was consequently free to interfere in Poland. In the third partition of this country Austria also took part, but received less than did Prussia or Russia.

Incensed by the desertion of Prussia, with whom nearly all the north German states were in sympathy, Austria and Great Britain made great efforts to continue the war. The victories of the French, however, continued. Prince after prince, the rulers of Württemberg, Bavaria, Baden and others, made peace with France, although after the Archduke Charles took command of

her armies Austria gained one or two successes. These, however, did not prevent her from concluding in 1797 the treaty of Campo Formio, by which she made concessions to France and left Great Britain in the lurch.

In November, 1797, Frederick William II. died, leaving his army in a state of decay and his country's finances in disorder. His son, Frederick William III., reduced the national expenditure and introduced certain reforms; but the time was not favourable for experiments in that direction.

In 1797 the Emperor Francis called a congress of German princes to Rastadt for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the country and providing compensation for those princes whose lands had been seized by France. But here Buonaparte showed himself regardless of German susceptibilities, and the congress ended without result. In 1799, owing largely to the efforts of the Czar Paul, the second coalition against France was formed. Prussia refused to join, although repeatedly pressed to do so, and, as constituted, the alliance consisted of Austria, Great Britain and Russia, as well as of some of the German and Italian princes, Portugal, and Turkey. A little later the elector of Bavaria promised help to Russia. Prussia and the small states which looked to her for leadership remained neutral, refusing not only to join the coalition, but also to join France. The alliance was soon seriously weakened by the defection of Russia, and Austria, on whom war had been declared by France in March, 1799, was left to bear the brunt of the struggle on land. After one or two successes, two terrible blows fell on her, the defeats at Marengo in June, and at Hohenlinden in December, 1800. Austria was overrun by the French, and it was under this compulsion that, in February, 1801, the Emperor signed the treaty of Luné-

ville, by which he ceded the lands on the left of the Rhine, and a good part of Italy, to France.

During the few months of peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens, Napoleon carried forward his plans for restoring under himself the Empire of Charlemagne, consisting of France, Germany, and Italy. The Emperor Francis, with the prestige of the centuries around his position, was regarded by him with especial dislike, and everything possible was done to isolate Austria. In 1802 Buonaparte signed treaties with Bavaria and Prussia, promising to each a considerable amount of territory then in the hands of ecclesiastical rulers. It was by secularizing the ecclesiastical lands that he was able to bribe the princes, and the policy was carried out on a large scale, no less than 112 states vanishing in the process. About the same time the electoral college was reorganized, the electors of Cologne and Trier being expelled, and three Protestant rulers—Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Cassel—being admitted. The representatives of the princes met at Regensburg, and, in spite of clerical opposition, the scheme was carried through, adjustments of territory being made all round. The guiding principle was that France kept everything on the western side of the Rhine, and her friends, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse and the rest, were compensated out of the ecclesiastical lands. In December, 1802, having failed to save his country from dismemberment, the Emperor gave his assent, and by a treaty with France secured the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen.

But these arrangements did not last, although those which they supplanted were never restored. In 1803 war broke out again between Great Britain and France, and at once French troops occupied Hanover—a step which Prussia viewed without undue alarm. In 1804, just after Napoleon had become Emperor of the French,

Francis II. took the title of emperor of Austria, and there was some talk of an emperor of Prussia. For two more years Francis also retained the title of Holy Roman Emperor, but a large part of this dying Empire—western and southern Germany—was completely under the dominion of France, and it was to give some semblance of reality to the actual position that Francis called himself emperor of Austria.

Meanwhile the third coalition against France was being formed. In April, 1805, an alliance between Great Britain, Austria and Russia was signed, and at once the Austrians invaded Bavaria. The South German states adhered to France, and Prussia, in spite of the violation of the neutrality of her territory of Ansbach, remained neutral for a few months, and then, at the instance of Russia, joined the alliance. Just before this the Austrian general Mack had surrendered to the French at Ulm with 25,000 men, and just after it, on December 2, 1805, Napoleon gained the battle of Austerlitz, the most glorious of his victories: 15,000 prisoners and 12,000 dead and wounded represented Austria's losses on the field of battle, but this was not all. The new empire was absolutely at the mercy of the victor, whose troops were in possession of Vienna, and the coalition was practically destroyed, in spite of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar (October 21, 1805). Hurriedly the Prussian king made peace with France. He received Hanover, and, in return, surrendered certain outlying districts.

The humiliation of Austria was completed by the treaty of Pressburg (December 26, 1805). By this the Emperor was entirely excluded from Germany. He recognized the rulers of Württemberg, Bavaria and Baden as sovereign princes, and the two former took the title of king. All the Austrian lands in the Rhineland and in South Germany were surrendered, mainlv to Bavaria and Württemberg.

Then, in place of the dying Empire, a new organization was created. This was the Confederation of the Rhine (*Rheinbund*). Napoleon's first idea was to form a confederation of all the German states, but this was not possible, and the new organization, of which the French emperor was protector, was confined to the states of the Rhineland. Prussia, and, of course, Austria, did not belong to it; its strongest members were Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, and its president was Karl Theodor von Dalberg, formerly elector and archbishop of Mainz, and now the ruler of a secular principality. Various adjustments of territory were made between the several princes, and an army was provided. Under these conditions Francis of Austria formally abandoned the empty title of Holy Roman Emperor, and the Empire of Charlemagne and Otto the Great came to an end. This was in August, 1806.

Prussia's turn came next. Her king had deserted his allies in 1805, but he was not very comfortable in face of the recent doings of France. The "continental system" of attacking British trade, into which Prussia had been forced, had resulted in heavy losses to her shipping, and then it was reported that Napoleon was proposing to restore Hanover to Great Britain. The attitude of Prussia changed rapidly, and on October 9, 1806, she declared war on France. Five days later her armies were utterly destroyed in the battles of Auerstädt and Jena. Other victories followed, the ease with which they were effected showing how the Prussian army had degenerated since Rossbach and Leuthen. The king fled to the recesses of Prussia, where the alliance of Russia helped him to continue the struggle. Together the Russians and Prussians almost held their own at the battle of Eylau in February, 1807, but after the disaster of Friedland the Czar made the treaty of Tilsit (July 9, 1807)

with his terrible foe. By this Prussia, who had twice resisted Napoleon's overtures for peace, was left in the lurch. All Frederick William's kingdom west of the Elbe, and all Prussia had gained from Poland at the second and third partitions, was taken from him: his land must pay an enormous indemnity, and be garrisoned by French soldiers until this was discharged.

Germany therefore, in 1807, was temporarily blotted out. Austria, narrowly confined to the east, was a new and largely a non-German empire. Prussia was under the heel of France, and the Confederation of the Rhine was the creature of Napoleon. After Jena this was joined by several north German princes, especially the elector of Saxony, who was made a king, while the elector of Hesse, who had incurred Napoleon's distrust, was driven from his land.

From this time the history of Germany centres more than ever around Prussia. The presence of French troops in the land after 1806 aroused a strong feeling of patriotism, and led thus to the liberation of the country. The writings of Fichte, Arndt and Kleist did much to fan the flame, while the practical work of regeneration was carried out by Stein and others. Stein reformed the administration of Prussia. He gave rights of self-government to the towns, and abolished the legal distinction between noble and burgher and peasant, which had hindered progress in many ways. More important still, he introduced the system of ministerial responsibility. No longer were ministers to be the mere creatures of the king, but instead were to be the servants of the state. These reforms were accompanied by a complete reorganization of the army, the principle of compulsory service being established.

In 1808 King Frederick William and Stein entertained hopes of throwing off the French yoke, but they were

disappointed. The result of a congress at Erfurt deprived them of all chance of Russian aid, and a letter written by Stein, in which he spoke of his hopes, having fallen into Napoleon's hands, further measures were taken to humiliate Prussia. More territory was taken from her, and her army was limited to 42,000 men. Stein, denounced as *le nommé Stein*, saved his life by flight.

Meanwhile, on Prussia's western border Napoleon had created for his brother Jerome the kingdom of Westphalia. This included Hesse-Cassel, taken from its elector, and Cassel was its capital. Its area was about 15,000 square miles. For a few months, in 1810, part of Hanover was added to it, but in 1813 its existence came to an end.

Like Prussia, Austria was passing through a time of regeneration, the guiding spirit being Count Stadion. In Tirol a rising under the patriot Hofer broke out against the dominant Bavarians, and in 1809 also the Emperor Francis declared war on France. Prussia held aloof, and on July 6, at Wagram, only eleven miles from Vienna, the Austrian army of 130,000 men was defeated with heavy loss. In the capital itself Napoleon dictated the terms of peace. Austria surrendered Carinthia and Carniola to France, Salzburg to Bavaria, and other territory to Russia, Saxony and the grand duchy of Warsaw, and was now cut off entirely from the sea. A war indemnity was demanded, and, to crown all, the conqueror married the emperor's daughter, Marie Louise.

At this time it seemed as if nothing would prevent the restoration of the Empire of Charlemagne. Like Holland, the north coast of Germany, as far as the Elbe, became, in 1810, part of the French Empire. But resistance was still possible, if not among the princes, yet among the people. The Spaniards were pointing the way, and Tirol was not the only part of Germany where the people

took up arms. In 1812 came the retreat from Moscow and the beginning of Napoleon's end.

When war with Russia seemed inevitable, Napoleon made fresh conventions with Prussia and Austria. Both countries were forced to promise help for the campaign. The other German states, locked to him in the Rhenish alliance, sent men to his standard, and there were thus many German soldiers in the grand army. Before setting out, he had held his court at Dresden, when the emperor Francis, the king of Prussia and other princes, paid to him their respects.

But this was before the *débacle* at Moscow. In December, 1812, the Prussian general York joined the Russians on his own responsibility, and at this signal the Prussians rose in arms. The chancellor Hardenberg advocated war with France, but the king hesitated for a while. In February, however, he did as his advisers wished. An ultimatum was sent, and an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with Russia. In March war was declared, while from Breslau the king issued his famous appeal, *An mein Volk*, and soon 270,000 men were in arms. Significant was the fact that three members of the *Rheinbund*, the two dukes of Mecklenburg and the ruler of Anhalt-Dessau, forsook that league and joined Prussia.

Napoleon underestimated the strength of this movement, for three-quarters of the German soldiers were still under his banner, but only for a short time. The allied Russians and Prussians overran Saxony, and forced the elector to ask the aid of Austria. At Lützen, however, they were defeated by Napoleon, but in spite of this they were joined by some of the Saxon troops. The decisive word was now with Austria, and on May 16 the emperor put forward the conditions on which he would assist his father-in-law. They were very considerable, and Napo-

leon, who had just gained the victory of Bautzen and recovered Hamburg, refused to agree to them. During a short truce between the combatants the negotiations were continued. Austria's terms became higher. They included the dissolution of the *Rheinbund* and the restoration of Prussia to the position occupied by her before Jena. Meanwhile, in June, Prussia and Great Britain had concluded the convention of Reichenbach, and then, in August, Austria declared war.

The result of this alliance was the great "battle of the nations" fought at Leipzig in October, 1813, just after Napoleon had, at Dresden (August 27), gained his last victory on German soil, and after French defeats at Grossbeeren near Berlin, Katzbach, and, by the Prussians alone, at Dennewitz. The French troops, about 300,000 in number, were concentrated around Leipzig on the 15th, when the allies prepared to attack; 180,000 Austrians and Russians bore the brunt of the fighting on the 16th, but it was indecisive, although 60,000 Prussians, under Blücher, carried the village of Möckern. On the 17th little was done, as the allies were waiting for reinforcements, but on the 18th the battle was resumed. Bernadotte, with 130,000 Swedes and Prussians, came to the assistance of the allies, and 3,000 Saxons, the last of Napoleon's German soldiery, deserted him. In good order the French retreated, winning on their way to Mainz the battle of Hanau over the Bavarians, who, like the Saxons, were deserters from their side.

The question now arose as to what use the allies should make of their victory. Should they press on after Napoleon into France, or should they make with him an honourable peace? The former view, urged strongly by Blücher, prevailed, and on January 1, 1814, the allies began the passage of the Rhine. In three great divisions

they invaded France, but again and again they were beaten by Napoleon, and at the end of six weeks, spent in hard fighting, they had achieved nothing. But just at this time the French resistance collapsed. On March 31, 1814, the defending French armies having surrendered, the allies entered Paris. Napoleon was deposed, the Bourbon King, Louis XVIII., was restored, and a congress met at Vienna to rearrange the map of Europe.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA—PROGRESS OF GERMANY AFTER THE WAR

NAPOLEON having being despatched to Elba, the statesmen of Europe met at Vienna to discuss the many difficulties before them. By the treaty of Chaumont, made in March, 1814, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia had bound themselves together in a firm alliance, and to them, by the treaty of Paris (May 30, 1814), France had conceded the disposal of all the countries now freed from Napoleon's rule. In September the congress was opened, Metternich being Austria's chief representative, and Hardenberg being Prussia's.

The deliberations at Vienna were interrupted in March, 1815, by the news that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was again in France. The four powers at once agreed to place 150,000 men each in the field, and with their foe at the head of 360,000, the war was renewed. In June the English and the Prussians, with some Belgian and Dutch allies, were around Brussels and Namur, and towards them Napoleon marched. The campaign of Waterloo followed. The battles of Quatre Bras and Ligny were fought on June 16, the British winning the former and the Prussians losing the latter, and on the 18th Europe was freed from her ogre by the victory of Waterloo. For the second time Napoleon abdicated, and from St. Helena there was no escape.

The main work of the congress, however, was to

arrange the boundaries of the various states. Prussia, backed by Russia, tried hard to secure the whole of Saxony, but the resolution of Great Britain, Austria and France prevented this. Prussia did secure the northern part of Saxony, the remainder of Pomerania, Posen, and the districts now forming her Rhine provinces. Austria regained Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Tirol. Her exchange of the Netherlands for part of Northern Italy hardly concerns German history. Bavaria recovered the Palatinate, and in 1819 gained the strip of land which connects this with the main part of her dominions. Great Britain secured the title of king for her sovereign, the elector of Hanover. The questions at issue between Austria and Bavaria were not settled until 1819, after war had been averted by the interference of the great powers.

Comparing the map of Germany in 1815 with that of 1793, one main fact is the increase in the size of Prussia and the reduction of the area of Saxony. Another is the disappearance of many states, and especially of the three great ecclesiastical electorates—Mainz, Cologne, and Trier. All the bishoprics, too—Bamberg, Würzburg, Worms, Spires, and the rest—have disappeared, and the Palatinate is merged into Bavaria.

In 1814 it had been decided that Germany should consist of a federation of sovereign states, and this was the principle upon which the congress worked. When finally formed by the act of June 9, 1815, this confederation or *Bund* consisted of thirty-nine members, of which Austria and Prussia were the chief. Besides these two there were four kingdoms—Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and Württemberg, and one elector, Hesse-Cassel—in the *Bund*. Its other members were grand dukes, dukes, princes, and four free cities—Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and Frankfort. Alsace-Lorraine, it was decided, should remain in the possession of France.



GEBHARD LEBERECHT VON BLÜCHER (1742-1819).

Field-Marshal of Prussia.

After the picture by Pieneman in Apsley House, London.



GERMANY IN 1815
(After the Conference of Vienna.)

To govern this *Bund* a *Bundestag*, or diet, was established. To this all the members sent delegates, and the representative of Austria was its perpetual president. Its powers included the arrangement of matters affecting trade and defence, and the affairs of Germany as a whole. A clause provided that in each country there should be an assembly of estates, an attempt at popular government in local affairs. The *Bundestag* held meetings of two kinds. For ordinary business the larger states each sent one member, and the smaller states were grouped to send six. Here a bare majority of votes sufficed. For questions of greater importance the voting power was distributed differently, and a two-thirds majority was necessary. Finally, for alterations in fundamental laws and matters of religion a unanimous vote was required.

The duel between Austria and Prussia now entered upon a new stage, and in this Austria scored the first success. A Prussian scheme for the division of the country into two spheres of influence, one Austrian and the other Prussian, alarmed the lesser princes, who also feared the growth of the Prussian army. Most of these sided, therefore, with Austria, whose majority in the *Bundestag* was assured, and Prussia adopted for a time a more pacific policy. But in Germany, as in England, after 1815, there was much unrest among the people. Thoughtful men, born under the influence of the French Revolution, were eager for sweeping reforms and their ideas spread fast. In Saxe-Weimar the enlightened grand duke, Charles Augustus, gave a constitution to his people, and this example was soon followed, and Bavaria, Baden, Hanover and Württemberg were among the states which carried out one provision of the treaty of Vienna—that there should be assemblies of estates in each country of the *Bund*. Under King Maximilian and his minister, Montgelas, Bavaria aimed at protecting the

smaller states of the *Bund* against the aggression of Austria and Prussia, and at the headship of the south German countries. To secure this end, the crown prince Louis relied upon the grant of a liberal constitution to his people, and Montgelas, disliking this, was dismissed. In 1818 the new constitution was proclaimed. Like all modern constitutions, it consisted of two houses, one of landowners and nominees of the king, and the other of elected representatives of the people. As in England, in 1832, the franchise was a narrow one, but in after years it was broadened. A new principle had been introduced, and for the time that was enough. In some sense the representatives of the people now controlled legislation and taxation.

The constitutions granted to Baden in the same year and to Württemberg in 1819, were on similar lines, and some smaller states followed suit. But very soon quarrels arose between these new bodies and their sovereigns. The popular leaders wished for great reforms at once, while the rulers were less eager to try experiments. In Bavaria the king appealed to Austria and Prussia for assistance against his new parliament, and in Baden also there was trouble. In October, 1818, there had been a festival at the Saxon castle, the Wartburg, where an unpopular police law had been solemnly burned. This gave an opportunity for Austria and Prussia, or, rather for Metternich and Hardenberg, two statesmen who disliked intensely the new ideas of government, to interfere. The result was a meeting of German ministers at Carlsbad and the issue of the Carlsbad decrees. These struck at the two centres of discontent—the universities and the press. Both were to be closely supervised, and it was decided that in the *Bund* no constitution "inconsistent with the monarchical principle" should be granted.

To this policy, and especially to the decrees, many of the lesser sovereigns, prominent among them being the king of Württemberg, objected, and he received a certain measure of support from the Czar Alexander I., whose aim was to check the influence of Austria. Protests, however, were ignored, and the consent of the diet was gained for the decrees. It was not so much that these lesser sovereigns were filled with a great desire to confer liberal constitutions upon their people which caused their opposition to the Carlsbad decrees, it was their fear of interference. They asserted that the diet had no power to interfere in their internal affairs, and if it gained the right to lay down rules for their constitutions it would be doing this. At Vienna, where the statesmen met to take further repressive measures, this feeling was very strong indeed and Metternich gave way. In the act approved by the diet on June 8, 1820, the principle of non-intervention was again affirmed, and it was merely stated that the states must only alter their constitutions by constitutional means.

Meanwhile Prussia, if retrogressive in political matters, was making great strides in economic ones. The Prussian kingdom was now a conglomeration of states, acquired at different times, and each under its own laws and customs. An especial difficulty was due to the varying tariffs on imported merchandise. Of these there were about sixty. In some parts goods were admitted free, and from nothing the duties rose until in other parts they amounted to absolute prohibition. Again, the Prussian frontier was so long and so broken that it was impossible to enforce a high tariff, because it was so easy to introduce goods under a low one only a few miles away. The result was a scheme which was the beginning of the Prussian *Zollverein,* or customs union. By this one tariff was established for the country. Raw materials



J. Rischgitz.

PRINCE METTERNICH (1773-1859).

From the painting by Sir T. Lawrence.

were admitted free, and ten per cent. was paid on manufactured goods.

So far so good, but thirteen states had enclaves within Prussia, just as to-day much of the county of Cromarty is scattered throughout Ross-shire, and this led to difficulties. Soon, however, these were coaxed or forced into the *Zollverein*, and then an attack was made on the economic freedom of those states which were wholly surrounded by Prussian territory. In 1819 Schwarzburg-Sondershausen joined the customs union, and others followed this example during the next few years, while in 1828 Prussia formed a commercial treaty with Hesse-Cassel.

This progressive movement was eagerly watched by the other states. In 1828 Württemberg and Bavaria formed a tariff union, and later in the same year one was formed by the central states, those lying between the two tariff groups. The members of this included Brunswick, the Saxon duchies, Frankfort and Bremen, and its main object was to prevent a union between the Prussian and the Bavarian unions. This it failed completely to do. In 1829 the two signed a commercial treaty. This broke up the middle union, and one by one the states in it joined the Prussian *Zollverein*. Four years later the two were amalgamated and were joined by the kingdom of Saxony, and on January 1, 1834, the German *Zollverein* came into existence.

The greater part of Germany was now united for the purpose of imposing a tariff upon imported goods. Outside the *Zollverein* were Hanover, Brunswick and a few other states, but they had formed a *Steuerverein*, and in 1834 and 1836 this bound itself by treaties to the bigger union. Austria was completely outside both, and so were a few other states, but in 1836 Baden and Nassau, and in 1842 Frankfort and Luxemburg, joined the *Zollverein*. Austria

tried to destroy it, but this led, not to its dissolution, but in 1854 to a complete union between the *Zollverein* and the *Steuerverein*. Finally, in 1888, Hamburg joined it, but before this time Austria, as the result of the war of 1866, had no part or lot in German affairs, and her exclusion from the *Zollverein* did not impair its integrity in any way.

Before passing to the events of 1830, a word should be said about the internal affairs of Prussia. In 1815 King Frederick William promised a parliament for the whole of his land, a body which should be additional to the estates of the various provinces. But the difficulties were great. The progressive ideas of the western provinces differed fundamentally from those of the eastern ones, where the medieval spirit survived, and there were equally profound differences between class and class. The king hesitated for a time, and then, after the turbulent events of 1818, he definitely sided with Austria and turned his back upon the progressives. In 1823 he assented to a new system of provincial estates, but the question of a national diet was not raised again during his reign.

In 1814 the local government system of Prussia took its present form. The provinces were divided into government districts (*Regierungsbezirke*) and the districts into circles (*Kreise*), a pyramid being created, at the apex of which was the chancellor. In 1817 a council of state was created, and this was successful in restoring order into the finances, and by wise concessions in bringing the new provinces into harmony with the Prussian system. To facilitate this task the king surrendered the crown lands for a fixed payment. In 1817 the two branches of Protestants were ordered to unite in one evangelical church. Some, called Old Lutherans, refused to join this, and they were persecuted for their obstinacy, their leaders being imprisoned.

Under Austria's lead the work of repressing liberal ideas thoughout Germany continued. A commission established at Mainz was working steadily in this direction, and until 1830 all seemed well to Metternich and the other advocates of "stability." In 1830 there was a revolution in France, and Germany, or rather the western states, were affected by it. In Brunswick, where a constitution had been granted in 1820, there had since been continuous trouble between Duke Charles and his people, and in the year of revolution he was driven from the land. In the neighbouring kingdom of Hanover an unpopular viceroy's dismissal was insisted on, and a new constitution was drawn up, and to Hesse-Cassel a new one was granted. Saxony, since 1827, under King Antony, was another centre of disorder. There were riots in Dresden and Leipzig, and the movement for reform resulted in the replacement of the feudal diet by a new one elected on modern lines, and in the dismissal of the unpopular minister Einsiedel. At the same time a responsible ministry of six departments was substituted for the privy council as the executive governing body. Bavaria, over which Louis I. had ruled since 1825, was scarcely touched by the disturbances of 1830, while Baden quietly regained the constitution which had been in suspense for five years.

The revolutionary fervour having died down, some German rulers took advantage of the reaction. In Hesse-Cassel the regent, Frederick William, and his minister Hassenpflug, entered upon a long struggle with the diet, which they opposed by all means in their power, not hesitating to manipulate the elections and to pack the judicial bench. In Hesse-Darmstadt also there was trouble, but in Baden, on the other hand, a liberal grand duke helped forward the introduction of reforms in the constitution, the law and education.

The most severe check administered to the progressive ideas was, perhaps, in Hanover. In 1837 this kingdom was separated from Great Britain, and passed to Ernest Augustus, duke of Cumberland. In 1833 King William IV. had assented to a constitution which established the principle of ministerial responsibility, and introduced other reforms borrowed from Great Britain, among them being the surrender by the sovereign of the crown lands in return for a civil list. All this was very hateful to the new king, and he declared the constitution of 1833 invalid. Seven professors of the university of Göttingen made a memorable protest against this arbitrary act, and were deprived of their positions. The federal diet refused to interfere, and in 1840 Ernest altered the constitution, practically destroying all the reforms of 1833 and recovering for himself the crown lands. Here matters remained until 1848.

Summarizing the history of Germany between 1830 and 1848, we may say that liberal ideas were gaining ground rapidly. In general, these were combated by the various rulers, and the outcome was the continuous unrest in many of the states. Everywhere the principles of the struggle were the same. It was a fight for representative government with all that this entails—ministerial responsibility, financial control, and the rest—against the dying system of monarchical government, checked only by the feeble powers of medieval estates. To this there could only be one issue. At the same time Prussia was perfecting her organization and improving her army, and the *Zollverein* was entering upon its career of usefulness.

In 1840 Frederick William IV. became king of Prussia. At once, carrying out the liberal ideas which he had professed, he released the clerics who had been imprisoned by his predecessor, and issued a general amnesty to their

followers, and in 1845 he allowed the Old Lutherans to establish a church of their own. In 1847 he summoned a united diet for his country, but as this was only a concentration of the provincial estates, it did not satisfy the demands of those who worked for a modern parliament. At once this body quarrelled with the king, and in four months it was dissolved.

In Bavaria, in 1837, the Jesuits gained control of the government, and they retained it for ten years. During this period, in which Karl von Abel was prime minister, they succeeded in making the constitution less liberal, in suppressing free speech, and in persecuting the Protestants. Abel's fall from power in 1847, however, was not due to this policy, but to a trivial matter. He refused to consent to the naturalization of the king's mistress, an Irishwoman, and was dismissed. This was followed by general uproar, during which the parliament was dissolved, and the unpopular mistress became the controller of the state. But by this time these disturbances had been merged in the greater disorders of 1848, which was truly a year of revolutions. In February Paris pointed the way and Germany was not slow to follow. In Hungary Louis Kossuth gave utterance to the prevailing discontent with the Austrian system of government. Riots broke out in Vienna, and on March 13, Metternich left the city for an exile in England. Constitutions were promised to Bohemia and to Hungary. The government, hampered by serious outbreaks in Italy, could do little to restore order, and the capital was ruled by a committee of citizens and students. In April a constitution for the whole monarchy, except Hungary, was promised; but this did not check the course of the revolution, and in May the Emperor Ferdinand fled from Vienna.

In March there were riots in Berlin, Munich, and other

capitals. In Berlin they were suppressed, and negotiations with the rebels led to the withdrawal of the troops. Then the king showed his sympathy with the movement by adopting the tricolour—the revolutionary flag—by marching round his capital, and by speaking of the glorious revolution. In Munich the disturbances were connected with the dislike of the king's mistress, and in March Louis I. abdicated in favour of his son, Maximilian II.

In Baden a programme of reforms, drawn up at Offenburg in the previous year, was demanded and granted, and a similar result was effected in Hesse-Cassel. In Hanover the constitution of 1833 was hastily restored; in Saxony important reforms, such as an extended suffrage, freedom of the press, and a better system of justice, were introduced; and in Württemberg also a more democratic constitution was proclaimed.

The isolated revolutionaries had already united upon a common demand. They wanted a national parliament. A number of influential men meeting at Heidelberg had invited all Germans who were past or present members of diets to meet at Frankfort to consider the question of reform, and about 500 consented. In March the federal diet adopted the tricolour, and agreed to this meeting. The delegates formed themselves into a preliminary parliament, and began to make arrangements for the election of a national assembly. For this the principle of universal suffrage was adopted.

To this step the governments of Austria and Prussia were strongly hostile, but they were not able to prevent the elections, although they did succeed in making them difficult. In Baden a rising of republicans, who were dissatisfied with the parliament on quite other grounds, having been suppressed, the assembly met at Frankfort on May 18. The federal diet about the same time ceased

to sit, and the parliament had a clear field for some creative work.

The difficulties before the delegates were enormous. Local interests were still very strong, and the military power was behind the hostile sovereigns. There was no foundation on which to build, and nearly everyone had a different idea of the kind of building to be erected. Time was lost in discussions on abstract theories of government, while the supporters of freedom grew impatient, and the forces of reaction gathered strength. Eventually a central administration, under an imperial vicar, was established. For this position the Archduke John of Austria was chosen, and he proceeded to form his cabinet.

The parliament turned aside during the year to discuss Prussia's relations with the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, or rather with Denmark, with which she was at war. With the Danes King Frederick William had concluded a truce, and his army had promised to evacuate Schleswig. To the patriots at Frankfort this was intolerable. It was a betrayal of their kinsmen, and they ordered the Prussian troops to remain. But the new cabinet and a number of delegates took the opposite view. The folly of quarrelling with Austria and Prussia was evident to many, and the truce was eventually confirmed. This led to civil war in the streets of Frankfort. Two deputies were murdered, and others were only saved by the arrival of Prussian and Austrian soldiers.

In spite of all, the parliament continued its discussions. Fundamental laws were laid down, and then the difficult question of Austria's position was considered. The Austrian Empire included a large non-German population, which few outside Austria wished to include in the new organization, while the exclusion of its German population was equally repugnant. The Austrian states-

men wished for the inclusion of the whole monarchy, which by its size would give them a dominant influence in its affairs, and two parties were formed, a great German and a little German. It was then proposed that Austria should not enter the union, but that a special Act should regulate her position in German affairs, and this was adopted by a majority of votes, its opponents being the Austrians and those who disliked Prussia, which, under this new arrangement, would be supreme. It was then decided that the Parliament should offer the crown of the new empire to a German prince, who should become German Emperor, and that it should be hereditary in his family.

To this proposal Austria, backed by Bavaria, offered a stout opposition. In view of her past position, her ruler could not possibly take a second place, and this was made clear. The majority, however, was against her, no alternative proposal was accepted, and the crown was offered to the king of Prussia. The difficulty was solved, or, rather, its solution was postponed, by his refusal. He declined the honour unless with the full consent of the princes and the free cities, and "full consent" was not forthcoming.

Undeterred by this rebuff, the parliament continued its sittings, but its end was clearly near. Throughout the country an agitation in favour of the suspended constitution was carried on, but it came to naught. Austria and Prussia withdrew their representatives from Frankfort, and after a batch of resignations and withdrawals only a few members were left. These, mainly republicans, moved away to Stuttgart, but in June, 1849, they were dispersed by order of the government of Württemberg.



A. Rischgitz.

THE CONFERENCE AT DRESDEN, 1850.

CHAPTER XXII

AUSTRIA VERSUS PRUSSIA

BEFORE outlining the three wars which finally placed Prussia at the head of Germany, we must refer briefly to the end of the revolutions of 1848. The attempt made by the parliament of Frankfort to create a German Empire had failed, the federal diet was in abeyance, and for a few years Germany was more than ever a collection of independent states. Power was with the ruler who had the strongest and the most mobile army, and the military might of Prussia was proved as one after another the local revolutions were crushed.

In Austria, soon after the flight of the emperor to Innsbruck, the government began to gain the upper hand. Racial animosities assisted them. In June, 1848, a Czech rising in Prague was suppressed, a result which the Germans at Frankfort hailed with delight, and the vision of an independent Bohemia vanished. The peasantry, freed from the old feudal burdens, turned to support the government, and to this the Czechs now looked for protection against their German foes. More serious was the revolution in Hungary, but after some very severe fighting this was crushed by the aid of troops sent by the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, and for nearly a year the country was governed under martial law. In October there was a fresh rising in Vienna, but on November 1 the city was captured by the emperor's troops under Prince Windischgratz. This paved the way for the formation of a new ministry

under Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, and for the assertion that a united Austria was necessary both for Germany and for Europe. In December, the Emperor Ferdinand, a weak sovereign both in body and mind, abdicated the throne which he had occupied since 1835. His successor was his nephew, Francis Joseph, who is still (1914) the ruler of Austria-Hungary.

In Prussia an assembly, or diet, representing the whole country met for the first time in May, 1848. Constitutional reform was demanded and the army was attacked, the result being bitter antagonism between the conservative and the liberal elements of the people. In October, a resolution was passed requesting the king to aid the revolutionaries in Vienna, and the royal palace was besieged by a mob which favoured this course. This brought matters to a climax. Berlin was occupied by the military, a new ministry under Count Brandenburg, a reactionary, was established, and the assembly was removed to Brandenburg. Here it forbade the payment of taxes while arbitrary government endured, but its resolutions and its protests were all wasted effort. In December it was dissolved, and the king ordered elections for a representative assembly. This was chosen by the electors, whose voting power rested upon property qualifications and on official and professional position. This new electoral law was regarded very unfavourably by the democrats, who took no part in the elections; consequently, a conservative majority was returned, and by this a new constitution was adopted. This, which embodied the wishes of the king, was proclaimed in 1851, and it has remained in force since that date. It provides for two chambers, one composed of the country's magnates and the other of representatives chosen under the electoral law of 1849.

While Bavaria, in a state of comparative quiet, was

supporting Austria in her resistance to the proposal to place Prussia at the head of a German Empire, Baden was in a state of revolution. In 1848 the government accepted the views of the democrats, and did something to put them into practice, but this did not end the unrest, and towards the end of the year there was serious fighting, in which the insurgents were beaten. A new constitution, issued in 1849, was not acceptable to the democrats, and in May the army mutinied, while the grand duke and his ministers fled. Under a moderate radical, Lorenz Brentano, a provisional government was established, but this could do little to check the insurgents, and the grand duke, supported by Bavaria, urged Prussia to intervene. Under William, the future emperor, the Prussian soldiers defeated the rebel army and entered Karlsruhe. The provisional government disappeared, some of the insurgent leaders were executed, and the grand duke returned. For a time the Prussians remained in the land, while a new assembly assented to certain reactionary measures.

In return for Prussia's assistance, Baden had undertaken to join the league of the three kings—Prussia, Bavaria, and Hanover. In 1850 the king of Hanover, Ernest Augustus, hoping the storm was over, dismissed his liberal advisers and tried to withdraw the concessions he had made under compulsion in 1848. A struggle occurred, during which the king died (November, 1851). His son and successor, George V., continued the same policy almost until his deposition in 1866. He secured a verdict from the diet of the Confederation that the constitution of 1848 was invalid, and his efforts to restore the constitution of 1840 met with a certain measure of success. In 1857 a majority of the representatives were in favour of this course, but they did not voice the opinion of the people and great unrest followed. From 1862 to 1865 ministers of more liberal ideas directed the country's

affairs, but in 1865 the king again secured men whose views were more in accordance with his own. In Hesse-Darmstadt concessions were granted and withdrawn, but the contest was not so violent as in Baden and Hanover.

Baden was not the only country in which Prussian troops appeared in 1849. In Saxony a democratic constitution was granted, and a democratic parliament demanded the reforms outlined at Frankfort. King Frederick refused to assent to these, and dissolved the parliament, whereupon a revolution broke out in Dresden. He fled, and a provisional government was established. Soon, however, Prussian soldiers arrived, and after some furious fighting in the streets the rising was quelled. The king returned, and, tired and indifferent, the people allowed reactionary measures to be passed, the old estates, abolished in 1848, being called again to life in 1850. In 1854 Frederick died, and was succeeded by his brother John.

In Württemberg the old king, William I., who reigned until 1864, managed matters more quietly. In 1849 he dismissed his progressive advisers, and, by manipulating the elections, he secured, in 1851, the election of a parliament, which surrendered the privileges gained since 1848. The constitution of 1819 was restored, and the real rulers of the country were the bureaucrats.

Here we have tried to summarize the course of the revolutions in the larger and more important German states. In the smaller ones it took, on the whole, the same course. The insurgents went too far in their demands, and so prepared the way for a period of reaction, which was helped by the knowledge that Prussia's army stood ready to help a harassed ruler. The advances made, however, were by no means negligible, and the cause of constitutional government had won solid victories all along the line.

One revolution, that in Hesse-Cassel, has been so far deliberately omitted from our survey, because, more than any of the others, it is bound up with the main course of German history and with the new rivalry between Austria and Prussia.

After the end of the Frankfort parliament Frederick William of Prussia requested the German states to send representatives to Berlin to discuss the condition of the country. With his allies, the kings of Saxony and Hanover, he drew up a constitution for the whole land, one somewhat less democratic than that proposed at Frankfort. The idea of an emperor was dropped; instead, there was to be a chief ruler aided by a college of princes. Some states accepted the proposition, and matters got as far as the meeting of a parliament of two houses and the election of a provisional college of princes.

But all this was before Austria had crushed the Hungarian rebellion, and when this was done the position was changed. Playing on the existing jealousy of Prussia, the Austrian ministers broke up the "three kings' league," and established one of four kings—Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg. It was then proposed that the German Confederation, which had ceased to sit in 1848, should be restored; this suggestion was favourably received, and in September, 1850, the representatives of several states formed themselves into a full diet of the Confederation at Frankfort, and ordered their proceedings by the Act of 1815.

It was at this stage that Hesse-Cassel became important. As elsewhere, its elector, Frederick William, had in 1848 agreed to a scheme of reform. Reaction followed, and in 1850 the obnoxious Hassenpflug was restored to power, his policy being dislike of the new constitution and hostility to Prussia. Twice the stubborn diet was dissolved, taxes were raised without its consent, and the

country was placed under martial law. On the other side, however, the army and many civil servants sympathized with the popular movement, and the electorate was reduced to a condition of anarchy.

Having fled from Cassel, Hassenpflug appealed to the restored federal diet. On the initiative of Austria, this decided to intervene, and in November, 1850, Austrian and Bavarian soldiers marched into the land. This step was taken without any consultation with Prussia, and that country was intimately connected with the affairs of Hesse-Cassel, which lay between the main part of her land and her Rhine provinces. Consequently, it was announced that Prussia intended to maintain the constitution of Hesse, and just after the arrival of the Austrians and Bavarians her troops also appeared in the electorate.

War now seemed likely, but Prussia, although she had mobilized her whole army, withdrew. She was not yet ready, and the concessions made by her included the dissolution of the new union of Germany, arranged under her leadership. By the convention of Olmütz, which was signed in November, 1850, Austria scored a complete victory. Hesse-Cassel was left to the federal diet, and the future of Germany was to be discussed at conferences at Dresden.

In Hesse-Cassel the elector and Hassenpflug were again restored, and in 1852 the federal diet issued a new constitution, one giving very limited powers to the people. This was agitated against, and in 1860 another was promulgated, but this only produced a deadlock. The diet then decided to restore the one granted in 1831, but after further trouble between the elector and his people the knot was cut by the events of 1866. After these events the federal diet was recognized by Prussia, and continued its sittings at Frankfort. But a difficulty was at hand which it could not solve.

The affairs of Schleswig-Holstein, where Germans and Danes were at variance, have been already briefly mentioned. Schleswig and Holstein were two duchies, ruled by the king of Denmark and containing a mixed population of Germans and Danes. Holstein belonged to the German *Bund* and Schleswig did not, but the two regarded themselves as indissolubly united, and the famous Schleswig-Holstein question arose out of an attempt to treat them differently. Christian VIII., king of Denmark from 1839 to 1848, had an only son, but no grandsons, and Denmark had its succession question, which was complicated by the fact that the Salic law was in force in the two duchies, but not in Denmark itself. In 1846 the king declared that Schleswig and part of Holstein were integral portions of his kingdom, and his son Frederick, when he became king, took the same line. This meant that, ignoring if necessary the Salic law, the succeeding king of Denmark would become *ipso facto* the ruler of the two duchies, a prospect very displeasing to many of their inhabitants.

In 1848 there was a revolt in the duchies, and, as already narrated, Prussia and other German states interfered. In 1852, at a conference which met in London, it was agreed that Christian, duke of Glücksburg, should be the next king, and that the duchies should be firmly and finally united with Denmark. In 1855 the king gave a new constitution to his land, and steps were taken to make the duchies more Danish in sympathies and ideas. While this trouble was simmering, the federal diet was ruling Hesse-Cassel in a most arbitrary manner, and from this land, as well as from other parts of Germany, thousands were emigrating to America. In Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, diets, dominated by men of reactionary opinions, were elected, and in Prussia there was a demand for the abrogation of the reforms of Stein. This was not conceded, but for a time those who favoured the less popular

forms of government were completely in the ascendant throughout Germany.

A reaction, however, was at hand, and signs of it first appeared in Prussia, soon after the conclusion of the Crimean war, in which the two great German countries had given moral support to Russia. In 1856 there was a little trouble between Prussia and Switzerland over the principality of Neuchâtel; however, both sides made concessions, and in 1857 the Prussian king withdrew entirely his claim thereto. In 1858 the king, Frederick William IV., gave evident proof of mental weakness, and a regent, his brother William, was appointed. In 1861, when William became king, he had already formed a close friendship with Otto von Bismarck, and the work of the two, which was to change the face of Europe, had begun.

William's own ideas were those of an absolute monarch, and he thought of altering the Prussian constitution to suit them, but from this course he was dissuaded by Bismarck. Instead, he dismissed the reactionary ministry of Manteuffel, and its place was taken by more liberally minded men. When regent, William had taken some part in bringing about the conclusion of the war between Austria and her Italian enemies, for Prussia had armed, and had thus checked Napoleon III. from following up his victories, and had secured Austria from further humiliations. William and Bismarck were both convinced that a strong army was Prussia's prime need, and to secure this was their first aim, as with it they would avoid any repetition of the diplomatic defeats of the past. Serious objections, however, were raised by the diet, but in spite of this some new regiments were raised in 1860, a few days before the death of Frederick William. In 1862 the diet returned to the fray. Its members attacked the institution of a professional army, advocating instead an extended militia system. In reply the new king dissolved



J. Rischert.

WILLIAM I.

Seventh King of Prussia and First German Emperor (1797-1888).

the diet, and his ministers resigned. Their successors were unable to carry on the government, especially when a new election returned a large liberal majority to the diet, which promptly rejected the army estimates.

At this crisis Bismarck was made prime minister. For nine years he had represented his country in the federal diet, and his policy was clear. Austria must, he held, cease to influence Germany's actions; instead, she must find her centre of gravity on the Danube. For Prussia the one thing needful was a strong army, and to secure this both the diet and the public were ignored. Supported by the second chamber, the minister raised money without the consent of the elected one, and to a large extent he succeeded in his plans.

Meanwhile the attempts to secure a satisfactory union for Germany were proceeding. A league which favoured a confederation of states under Prussian leadership was still in existence, and in 1862 another, the policy of which was union under Austria, was founded. In 1863, however, the two acted together, with the object of checking the policy of Prussia in Schleswig and Holstein. Just before this crisis Francis Joseph of Austria had suggested to the king of Prussia that the *Bund* should be reconstituted, and at the same time had called a conference of princes to discuss the question. King William did not attend this meeting, and as his presence was regarded as necessary, the king of Saxony was despatched to Berlin to make a personal appeal to him. Bismarck, however, prevented him from accepting the invitation, and the conference proceeded to reform the *Bund* on the lines suggested by Austria. To it Prussia sent word that, like Austria, she must have the right of vetoing war, and with Austria she must have absolute equality in the matter of the presidency. In face of this determination the proposed confederation disappeared.

To return to Schleswig-Holstein. In 1858, owing to the influence of the German diet, the two duchies had been separated, Holstein being freed from Danish interference, but in 1860 the king again began to treat them as integral parts of Denmark, while the Germans demanded the restoration of the union between them. Then the European powers arranged terms by which they were to be ruled by the Danish king, but were to be independent of Denmark, a proposal rejected by that country. In November, 1863, under the parliamentary settlement, Christian of Glücksburg became, king as Christian IX.

The new king adopted the policy of his predecessor—a firm union between Denmark and the duchies. On the other side, the people of Holstein wanted Frederick of Augustenburg, whose claim rested on an enforcement of the Salic law, to be their ruler. The German Confederation, under these circumstances, sent Saxon and Hanoverian soldiers into Holstein to support Frederick, who took up the duties of government. In this proceeding neither Austria nor Prussia took part. Both had signed the treaty of 1852, which recognized Christian's claim to the duchies, but the smaller German powers, firmly convinced of the justice of the cause they were supporting, refused to take this view. Prussia and Austria then agreed between themselves (January, 1864) to act in the matter as independent powers, and only then in concert with each other. Bismarck, the master mind in this arrangement, wanted the duchies for Prussia, and his diplomacy was directed to this end. Having succeeded in preventing an appeal to the powers of Europe, he lured the Danish king to war, and in February, 1864, Prussian and Austrian troops invaded Holstein. As may be expected, the unequal struggle was soon over. Behind the Dannewerk the Danes fought bravely, but they were disappointed at not receiving assistance from Great Britain, and in August

their king signed the treaty of Vienna, by which Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg were ceded to the two powers jointly.

This friendship between Austria and Prussia was of very short duration. Austria's relations with the Prussian *Zollverein* were continually causing friction, and this was rather pronounced in 1862, when the union made a commercial treaty with France. Against this Austria and a number of the smaller states protested, but they were overborne by Prussia; most of the latter accepted the arrangement, while Austria signed a fresh treaty with the *Zollverein*, on the lines of the one concluded in 1853. Inevitably trouble arose over the government of the surrendered duchies. Austria, fearing their annexation by Prussia, took up the cause of the duke of Augustenburg, and persuaded the federal diet to ask for him to be placed in possession of Holstein. Bismarck denied the right of the diet to interfere, and increased Austria's suspicions by proposing to make a war-harbour at Kiel. But, as in 1850, they compromised. By the convention of Gastein, (August 14, 1865), which, according to Bismarck, "papered over the cracks," it was decided that Schleswig should be governed by Prussia and Holstein by Austria; Prussia received Lauenburg in return for a money payment to Austria, and the harbour at Kiel was to belong to the *Bund*, and to be used by both powers. It was a victory for Prussia and a rebuff to the duke of Augustenburg. Moreover, it aroused protests from the European powers, especially France, but Bismarck knew how to deal with Napoleon III. Again war had been averted, but it was near. Bismarck saw that his army was ready and his people united; while in Austria the conditions were much less favourable, and although King William disliked the idea of fighting a German people, it was bound to come.

To prepare the way Bismarck was working for an alli-

ance with the king of Italy, who wished to further the work of liberation by freeing Lombardo-Venetia from Austrian rule. Both powers were by this time making military preparations, and Austria was irritating Prussia by encouraging the claim of the duke of Augustenburg to Holstein. Prussia protested, and when her protest was ignored, the alliance between the two countries came to an end. In March, 1866, Austria requested Prussia to cease her preparations, and warned the princes to prepare to mobilize the federal army. In reply Prussia stated that defensive measures were necessary and justifiable, and to the princes she suggested a scheme for the reform of the Confederation. In April the treaty with Italy was signed, the arrangement being that if Prussia's proposals for reform were rejected, both countries should declare war on Austria.

In April the reform proposals were laid before the diet and were discussed, while both sides were pressing on with their preparations for war. Towards the end of the month Austria presented an ultimatum, requesting Prussia to disarm and the immediate settlement of the Schleswig-Holstein question by the federal diet. Napoleon III. then intervened, seeking to detach Italy from Prussia, but this had no result, and on June 1 Austria declared that she would submit the matter of the duchies to the diet. Bismarck, in reply, declined to recognize the authority of this body, and protested against Austria's action as a breach of treaties. He favoured, as before, a reform of the Confederation, and to the decision of a reformed diet Prussia, he said, was willing to submit. Prussia's plan for a new confederation included the entire exclusion of Austria, a parliament elected by manhood suffrage, a federal army under Prussia and Bavaria, and a federal navy. This scheme was laid before the diet, and at the same time Austria demanded that the federal army should be

mobilized against Prussia. By nine votes to six the Austrian motion was carried, and at once, as Bismarck had threatened, the Prussian delegate left Frankfort, and on the next day (June 15) the Prussian army marched on Austria.

In the short war which followed, popularly called the Seven Weeks' War, most of the smaller states sided with Austria. Her advocacy of the cause of the duke of Augustenburg had brought her temporarily into harmony with the prevailing temper of the Germans, and her traditional headship was not to be lightly disregarded. Moreover, it seemed hardly likely that she would suffer defeat, and some of the states undoubtedly played for safety by ranging themselves on her side, although Bismarck had declared that those in north Germany which voted against Prussia in the diet would pay dearly for their temerity if King William emerged victorious from the struggle.

The Prussian army advanced through Saxony into Bohemia, and the first engagements took place on the banks of the Elbe. At Trautenau they were beaten back, but at Nachod they drove the Austrians before them, and then at Sadowa, or Königgrätz, on July 3 they gained an overwhelming victory. The weapons of the Prussians were much superior to those of the Austrians and their Saxon allies, but the issue of the battle was in doubt until the arrival of the second Prussian army, and even then the vanquished retired in good order. The victors marched towards Vienna, for the defence of which active preparations were being made, but on July 22 an armistice was arranged, and the last fighting, which was near Pressburg, ceased.

In western Germany Austria's allies had done very little. The federal forces were very unprepared for war, and in spite of numerical inferiority Prussia soon succeeded in crushing them. At Langensalza the Hanoverian army

was surrounded and compelled to surrender; the Bavarians were defeated in two engagements and Frankfort was occupied, and the armies of the southern states were being driven back when peace was made.

On July 26 the preliminary treaty of peace was signed with Austria. Schleswig-Holstein was surrendered to Prussia, and Austria consented to a new organization of Germany from which she would be excluded. The actual peace was signed at Prague on August 23, and with some of the other combatants—Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt—treaties were made by Prussia during August, September, and October.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR AND THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

In dealing with his conquered foes Bismarck divided them into three classes. First were the states of south Germany, which were treated very leniently; second were several in the west and north, which were punished more severely; and, finally, a few suffered the supreme penalty—they lost their existence.

Anxious to reconcile the Roman Catholics to the supremacy of Prussia, Bismarck allowed Bavaria and Baden to go unpunished, while Württemberg was fined only. In the north, Saxony was compelled to pay a large fine, and Hesse-Darmstadt was deprived of some territory. The third class, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and the free city of Frankfort—whose support of Austria was regarded as treachery—were by a royal decree incorporated in the kingdom of Prussia. George V. of Hanover found a home in Austria, and the people of Hesse-Cassel were not sorry to lose their unpopular ruler.

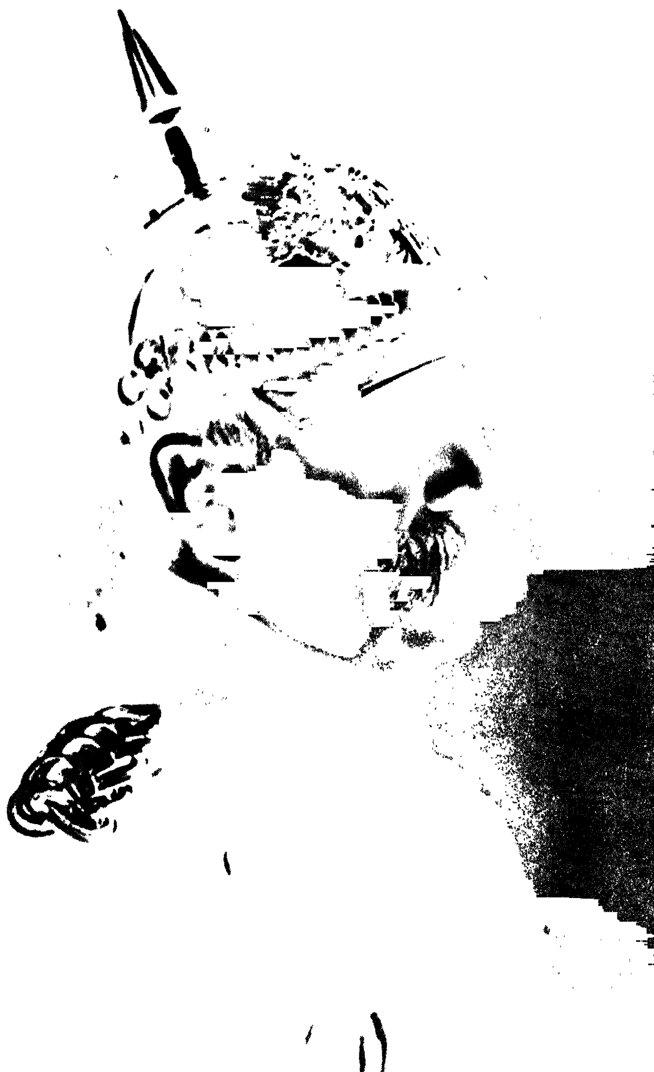
This settled, the new confederation, spoken of in the treaty of peace, was brought into being. It was, however, confined to the states north of the river Main, and was known as the North German Confederation. Its affairs were regulated by a parliament, or diet, of two houses, and its head was the king of Prussia. Its lower house (*Bundestag*) was elected by universal suffrage and the ballot, and its upper house (*Bundesrat*) represented the govern-

ments of the associated states. Bavaria and the other states south of the Main were sovereign and independent.

In this new diet the National Liberals, for long the strongest political party in Germany, made their appearance. Their main aim was to unite North and South Germany, and, in spite of certain fundamental differences of opinion, Bismarck heartily co-operated with them in this matter. But their task was a difficult one, and it was not lessened by the sight of Prussia's rapid rise to power; yet gradually something was done to convince the two sections of the German people that they had common interests. Meanwhile, the North German diet was establishing in Leipzig a supreme court for commercial matters, and was introducing a new penal code.

To conciliate the south Bismarck had, in 1867, asked them to send representatives to Berlin to discuss, in a *Zollparlament*, the question of customs duties. Deputies were elected to this, but in several of the states they were those men who were definitely opposed to a larger union of the German countries, and although it did good work in its own limited sphere, it did little else.

The union of Germany, however, was at hand, although it was not brought about by commercial considerations. The ruler of France at this time was Napoleon III., and he was alarmed at the growing power of Prussia. During the Crimean War Prussia's attitude to him had been hostile, and later his victorious career in Italy had been stopped by the appearance of her armies on the Rhine. Like his uncle, Napoleon the Great, he contemplated the possibility of extending the French frontier to that river, and before the Austrian war Bismarck had deluded him and kept him quiet by some vague talk about "compensation" for any conquests which Prussia might make. But after the war Napoleon's request for compensation was peremptorily refused, and it became more and more



OTTO EDUARD LEOPOLD, PRINCE VON BISMARCK (1815-98),

Chancellor of the German Empire.

probable that France and Prussia would come to blows. For this eventuality Bismarck was steadily preparing, and his diplomacy was remarkably successful. Very cleverly he detached Bavaria and the states of the south from their traditional alliance with France, and secret treaties were made with them. These provided for an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia, and contained the important provision that in case of war their armies should be commanded by the Prussian king. In March, 1867, when there was a dispute between the two countries about the right of garrisoning Luxemburg, Bismarck made these secret treaties public.

The war broke out in 1870 in a somewhat unexpected manner. A Hohenzollern prince had been chosen king of Spain, and France, alarmed at this, requested Prussia to secure his withdrawal. This Bismarck refused to do, and his alteration of the famous "Ems telegram" made war inevitable. While, during the four years, 1866-1870, Bismarck had been preparing for war by bringing all the German armies under the control of Prussia and in other ways, Napoleon had been negotiating with Austria and Italy, and plans for joint action against Prussia had been discussed at Vienna and elsewhere. When, however, it came to war, no assistance was forthcoming from these quarters, and France, quite unprepared, as it proved, had to face alone the onslaught of Prussia and her allies.

On July 14 France declared war on Prussia, and on the following day the order for mobilization was telegraphed over the country. On the 16th and 17th the South German states decided to join Prussia, and it was then certain that the war would be a Franco-German one, and not merely a Franco-Prussian one. For his attack on the French frontier the king of Prussia had three armies ready, altogether 475,000 men, commanded by Steinmetz, Prince Frederick Charles (the "Red Prince") and

the Crown Prince respectively. The whole plan of campaign was directed by von Moltke, as chief of the staff to the king. The French were not ready to move for some days, and even then were not informed of the position and resources of the enemy; consequently, it was August 2 before the first real encounter took place—a fight at Saarbrücken.

A crowded month followed. On the 4th the third German army gained a victory at Weissenburg, and on the 6th Steinmetz drove the French from the heights of Spicheren. The third army, that of the Crown Prince, marching forward after Weissenburg, fought on the 6th the decisive battle of Wörth, when the beaten French lost 20,000 out of 37,000 engaged. After this victory this German army met with little resistance on its march to the Moselle. Already the French were in retreat, and on the 9th Moltke issued orders for a general advance to the Moselle, where stood the important fortress of Metz. On the following day the whole of the French forces on the Rhine, now commanded by Bazaine, took up a strong position on the Nied; but on the 13th they suddenly retreated and encamped to the east of Metz. At Colombey-Borny, on the 14th, there was an obstinate and indecisive battle, and on the 16th a small Prussian force attacked a much larger French one at Vionville and Mars-la-Tour.

By this time Prince Frederick Charles had made a miscalculation. Counting on the continued retreat of the French, he had moved his army forward over a wide front, and then suddenly, on the 17th, he found the way blocked by a great force. This, however, did not attack him; instead, it withdrew further, and the prince had time to gather together his army and to receive reinforcements. With these he marched after the enemy, and on the 18th a great battle, fought at Gravelotte and St.

Privat, resulted in a German victory and in the retreat of the French into Metz. This fortress was at once invested by the Germans, and a new army was formed to follow and destroy the remnants of the beaten foe. Meanwhile Marshal MacMahon was advancing to relieve Metz, and on the 29th he came into touch with the Germans. The resulting engagements were unfavourable to the French, who were driven into the small fortress of Sedan, which, like Metz, was promptly surrounded. On September 1 Sedan capitulated, and the emperor and his army became prisoners of war.

The first stage of the war was now over. One French army was captive, and the other was shut up in Metz. The second stage began with the German advance to Paris, which was invested towards the end of September. The siege of that city and the other events of the national rising against the invaders called forth those heroic qualities for which the French people are famous. Freed from the cumbering presence of Napoleon and the indecision which had cost them so dearly, the French soldiers fought bravely and not always unsuccessfully. At Coulmiers on November 9 a force of Bavarians was defeated, but in December the French lost two battles and failed to prevent the capture of Orleans. In other parts of the land ill-equipped troops were causing endless trouble and loss to the Germans, but the campaigns were stopped by the news that an armistice had been arranged, and that Paris had surrendered on January 28, 1871. Before this event many French fortresses had been taken. Metz had capitulated in October, and soon afterwards Verdun fell. Strassburg, after a stubborn resistance, had surrendered in September, and others taken included Belfort and Toul. The Franco-German War cost Germany the lives of 28,000 men; 101,000 were wounded, and the number in the field at the end of the struggle

was over 800,000. At Versailles the preliminaries of peace were arranged, and on May 10, 1871, the treaty was signed. France surrendered Alsace and Lorraine, and promised an enormous war indemnity, which was duly paid.

For Prussia the fruit of the struggle was the creation of the new and existing German Empire. This is an enlargement of the North German Confederation; that association of states being in 1871 joined by Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden. As then constituted the Empire consists of twenty-six members. Its head is the king of Prussia, who is German Emperor by virtue of that position. He commands the imperial army and navy, makes war and peace, and concludes treaties for the Empire. He is assisted by a federal council, and the Empire has a Parliament of two houses—a small *Bundesrat* of fifty-eight members representing the governments, and a *Reichstag* of 397 members representing the people, and elected by universal manhood suffrage every five years. To the *Reichstag* Prussia sends 236 members, and to the *Bundesrat* seventeen; but the divisions into parties are hardly at all on the lines of nationality. Nearly all the states* have representative assemblies, which deal with internal and domestic affairs, and Bavaria and Württemberg have one or two special privileges.

As chancellor of the new Empire, Bismarck set to work to consolidate his country's institutions. In 1871 each state had its own legal system, its own monetary system, and its own army, and there were other hindrances to a complete union. Gradually many of these were removed. After some years spent in discussion, the system of legal procedure was made uniform throughout the whole Empire, the codes of law were dealt with in a similar way,

* The exceptions are the two Mecklenburgs, which retain their old undemocratic constitutions.

and a supreme court—the *Reichsgericht*—was established at Leipzig. A common monetary system was introduced, and in the course of time all the post-offices, except those of Bavaria and Württemberg, passed under the direct control of the imperial government at Berlin. One after another, most of the states handed over their armies to the authority of Prussia, although a local organization was preserved.

In another matter Bismarck was less successful. He wished to unify the railway system, but here he met with very considerable opposition, both in the states and in the *Bundesrat.* One or two states already possessed national systems, but none were willing to merge them in one great national organization. He was therefore obliged to abandon the idea, and to content himself with nationalizing most of the railways of Prussia. In this system the lines of neighbouring states, among them Brunswick and Hesse, were afterwards incorporated. About this time the banking laws were made uniform, and to serve the whole Empire the Prussian Bank became the *Reichsbank.*

The new government had to deal with a religious difficulty of some magnitude. This was the *Kulturkampf*, a word coined to describe the contest between the principles of the Church and those of the modern world. In Germany Roman Catholics and Protestants were fairly evenly divided, and Bismarck feared much lest the former, by forming a coalition both without and within the Empire, should imperil its existence.

The conflict began in Baden, and here, as everywhere, it raged round the control of education. Soon it spread to Prussia and Bavaria, as well as to the smaller states. In Prussia the Roman Catholics had enjoyed the most complete freedom and equality, but after 1871 there was much popular feeling against them, and a change took place.

In 1872 the Jesuits were expelled from the whole country by an order of the *Reichstag*, and in 1873 several anti-Catholic measures were applied to Prussia. The inspection of schools was taken out of the hands of the clergy, and a law was passed, similar to one already in force in Baden, forbidding the appointment of any person who was not a German to any position in the Church. By other measures the authority of the State over the Church was emphasized, and in spite of violent objections the government persisted in its policy and enforced the laws. Six bishops were imprisoned, and public worship was suspended in over 1,300 parishes, but the persecuted clergy found many supporters, whose zeal was only increased by further repressive laws. All religious orders were banished from Prussia, and civil marriage was made compulsory, first in that country and later throughout the Empire.

In Bavaria, although a Roman Catholic country, there was also much hostility to the Jesuits and to the new doctrine of papal infallibility, while the court was jealous of the influence of the Pope over the people. Those who rejected the new doctrine were called Old Catholics, and the populace were aroused against them; but the ministry, instead of giving way to this feeling, requested the central government to pass a law forbidding priests in their official capacity to meddle with political matters. This proceeding inflamed the Bavarian orthodox Catholics still more, but in spite of a steady majority against them the liberal ministers remained in power owing to the influence of the king. The agitation against the Old Catholics, however, continued, and in 1890 it was decided that they should no longer be regarded as members of the Church.

In the country generally the Roman Catholics gradually accepted the altered conditions, and before his resignation Bismarck felt able to secure the repeal of nearly all the

laws against them and to enter into friendly relations with the Vatican.

In this matter the chancellor and the National Liberals worked heartily together, but about 1878 there came a breach between them. Having brought about a certain political unity in Germany, and having dealt with the increasing amount of business by reorganizing the administration under several secretaries of state, Bismarck's policy now took a form distasteful to his allies. His aims were to give more protection to German manufactures, and to roll back the advancing tide of socialism. Both policies, especially the former, were disliked by the National Liberals, but protection was favoured by two of the several parties into which the *Reichstag* was divided. The Imperial party, or free Conservatives, whose strength rested on the support of the Prussian landed gentry, was one of these, and the other was the Centre party, so called from its position in the Chamber. In other ways, however, this later party, which won sixty seats at the election of 1871, was bitterly opposed to Bismarck's policy. It wished to maintain the Christian character of the schools, and the rights of the individual states against the central power. It supported the Bavarians in their resistance to the anti-clerical measures, and the Poles in their dislike of German aggression. For these reasons its members were often called anti-imperialists (*Reichsfeindlich*).

After the general election of 1878, in which the National Liberals lost ground, laws were passed against the socialists. All their societies and unions were declared illegal, all their meetings were forbidden, and their newspapers were suppressed; but the growth of the movement was hardly arrested by these repressive measures. Bismarck's protective policy was more successful than was his anti-socialist one. Import duties were placed upon

iron, corn, cattle, wood, wine, and sugar, but not upon raw material; and in 1888 the German *Zollverein* was completed by the adherence to it of Hamburg and Bremen, hitherto free ports.

Bismarck had other ambitions for his country, and one of them was for colonies. Some islands in the Pacific and a settlement in New Guinea were secured, and in 1884 Germany obtained a footing on both coasts of Africa. The conflicting interests of Great Britain and Germany were discussed at a conference held in Berlin in 1884, and in 1890 a general agreement about the African possessions was made. At this time Heligoland was given to Germany in exchange for territory in Africa.

Social reform was not neglected during the years of expansion and activity. In 1884 insurance against accidents was made compulsory, and in 1890 against old age. Other measures for alleviating distress among the workers included the establishment of an excellent system of poor relief. Moreover, as in Great Britain, laws have been passed restricting the hours of labour for women and children.

One or two matters affecting the relations of Prussia and the other states, and also their internal affairs, should be mentioned. The elector of Hesse, deprived of his land in 1866 by Prussia, formally relinquished his rights, and the duke of Augustenburg, whose daughter married the future Emperor William II., ceased to prosecute his claim to Holstein. As regards Hanover, however, King George refused to the last to listen to any advances, and until 1890 his son, Ernest Augustus, did the same. George even organized a regiment to serve against Prussia, and in return some of his revenues were seized and the money used to control the press. He was not without supporters in his former kingdom, and an agitation on his behalf was carried on by the Guelphs, who

returned a few members to the *Reichstag*. This stubborn attitude led to a difficulty in 1884 when William, the childless duke of Brunswick, died. His heir was Ernest Augustus of Hanover, but the imperial government, supported by the *Bundesrat*, refused to allow him to succeed to it, and a Hohenzollern prince was chosen regent. Under this new administration Brunswick was brought very closely into connection with Prussia, nearly all its departments of state being controlled by its powerful neighbour.

The outstanding fact in the foreign policy of the new Empire has been the close alliance between Germany and Austria. In this friendship Italy has been included, and the famous Triple Alliance has been for many years a feature in the politics of Europe. In 1888 there was trouble between Germany and Russia, but serious developments were fortunately prevented.

In all these matters Bismarck had been the directing spirit, but he was backed throughout by his master, the Emperor. In March, 1888, when William I. died, the partnership was severed, and for practical purposes the chancellor's work was over. The new Emperor was Frederick, a son-in-law of Queen Victoria, but he only reigned for fourteen weeks, dying on June 15, 1888. On that date his son William II. became the third German Emperor.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

WHEN William II. ascended the imperial throne in 1888, Bismarck was still in the place of power, and the great National Liberal party was in process of decay. Its members had split into two groups, and one of these, including the leaders Bamberger and Lasker, stood firmly for the old liberal ideas, free trade and constitutional progress. It suffered, however, from the anti-Semite agitation, for many of its members and supporters were Jews, and consequently lost ground at the election of 1881. In its weakened state it joined hands with the Radicals (*Freisinnige*), and formed a new party *Deutschfreisinnige*), but this did not secure the position formerly held by the National Liberals. It hoped much from the impending accession of the crown prince Frederick, who was understood to favour its ideas; but his death was a great blow, and in 1893 the coalition finally broke up.

The remainder of the National Liberals, deserting in 1884 the free trade creed, went over to the side of Bismarck and henceforward supported his government. It was, however, to the strong Centre party that, during his later years, the chancellor looked more and more for support, and his alliance with this was made possible by the complete change in his policy towards the Roman Catholics. By 1887 the only repressive measure remaining in force was the one excluding the Jesuits.

During the short reign of Frederick Bismarck had experienced a rebuff, his colleague Puttkammer having been reproved and dismissed by the Emperor for interfering in the election of 1887, and the end of his long period of power was near. William II. was more conservative in his tendencies than his father had been, and in the first two years of his reign his attention was devoted to making friends with the great powers of Europe rather than to domestic matters.

In 1892 there was a general election, and, preparing for this, the Government had in 1889 introduced a new law against the socialists, but this was rejected. The Emperor in two proclamations expressed his wish to improve the condition of the workers, and this proceeding spiked Bismarck's guns by preventing him from appealing to the populace against the teaching of the Socialists, as he had done with such success in 1878. Other differences of opinion existed, the chief being perhaps the desire of the Emperor to take a more personal part in the government. Bismarck refused to assent to a decree destroying his position as the sole intermediary between the Emperor and the other ministers, and in March, 1890, he was dismissed.

The new chancellor was Count von Caprivi, but he exercised much less power than his predecessor had done. The Emperor took a very active part in political matters, and coming thus into the arena it is not surprising that his speeches were severely criticized, and a situation of some difficulty was from time to time created. Attempts to unite the various political parties failed, but something was done to regulate hours of labour.

The repeal of the socialist law was followed by a great increase in the numbers of that party. Each general election revealed their growing strength, and in Prussia and Saxony fresh laws were passed in the hope of

stopping the movement. These were not at all successful. In 1902 they gained signal successes at the elections, and although they lost ground in the *Reichstag* as a result of the election of 1907 they secured more votes than on the previous occasion. At the general election of 1912 they polled more than 25 per cent. of the votes cast, and returned 110 of the 397 members of the *Reichstag*, in which they are now the strongest party.

Caprivi's tenure of office was notable for the conclusion of commercial treaties with Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland. The idea behind this policy was to secure a market for German manufactures in Central Europe, and so to compensate traders for the loss of those of Russia, France and America, where protective duties were being made heavier. This policy, however, led to his fall. The new arrangement provided for a reduction of the import duty on corn, and under this increasing quantities were imported; this sent down the price and aroused great discontent among the agricultural population of the east. They formed a powerful union, and as a political party, the Agrarians, brought about the dismissal of Caprivi in October, 1894, and for some years afterwards exercised a potent influence on German politics. The third chancellor was a Bavarian and a Roman Catholic, Prince Chlodwig von Hohenlohe. His task was rendered very difficult by the number and complexity of the parties in the *Reichstag*, and measures were introduced in the hope of conciliating one or other of them. Hohenlohe remained in office until 1900, during which time there was in Germany an outbreak of feeling against England, then fighting the Boers. His successor was Count von Bülow, who retained office until 1909, when Theodor von Bethmann-Hollweg became chancellor.

During the past decade or so the foreign policy of

Germany has been vigilant. In 1905 there was trouble with France over the affairs of Morocco, and the threat of war was made at a time when the latter's ally, Russia, was crippled as a result of her war with Japan. The French Government gave way, and this was averted. In 1909 Germany effectually supported Austria, whose annexation of Bosnia and Herzgovina had alarmed the other powers of Europe.

Under William II. Germany has added to her foreign possessions. In 1899 certain islands in the Pacific were purchased from Spain, and in 1900 two large Samoan islands were secured by an agreement with Great Britain and the United States. In 1897, after the murder of two missionaries, troops were landed in China, and a territory fifty square miles in extent was ceded. German influence has also been exercised in Turkey and in Brazil, the most important circumstance in this connection being the right to build the Baghdad railway. In defending her interests in South-West Africa, Germany was in 1903 involved in a war against the Hereros, and in 1900 she joined with other European powers in an expedition to Pekin.

The financial difficulties of the Empire are due to her enormous expenditure upon the army and navy. In 1893 compulsory military service was made much stricter, and the number with the colours was increased. In 1913 a new army bill was introduced, and this proposed to increase the standing army to 660,000 men, an increase of 136,000. It was passed without serious alteration, the authorities urging it on the ground that the Balkan War had changed materially the balance of power in Europe.

The modern German navy dates from 1890, when a change was made in its administration. A more direct part in its administration was then given to the Emperor, who in 1896 and 1897 spoke of his Empire as a world empire, and used his famous expression about the

"mailed fist." The German navy law of 1897 introduced a new principle—one providing a permanent programme of additions to the fleet. The opposition to this was easily quelled, owing to the influence of the Navy League (*Flottenverein*). In 1900, by a new navy law, further additions were made, and in 1905 still further ones were sanctioned. In 1909 the Navy League urged that the fleet outlined in the navy laws should be completed in 1912, and not in 1917, as originally arranged, but this was not accepted by the authorities. The race, however, between Germany and Great Britain continued, although in 1913 the head of the German navy, Admiral von Tirpitz, declared that the suggested ratio of 16 to 10 in Dreadnoughts would satisfy his government. The idea of a shipbuilding holiday, proposed by England about this time, was not seriously considered.

The financial burden entailed by this policy reached a crisis in 1909. Deficits had been continuous, and in that year Bülow presented a budget in which additional taxation to the extent of £25,000,000 was demanded. With great labour he secured the passage of the measure, but his resignation was the price paid for it.

In 1913 no less than £9,500,000 a year, in addition to over £50,000,000 for non-recurring expenditure, was required for the proposed increase in the army, and to raise this a heavy but temporary tax was laid upon capital, and the states of the Empire were requested to contribute more.

Another difficulty which in recent years has faced the German government has been the treatment of the non-German peoples within the Empire, especially the Poles. In Posen, where this people are numerous, constant attempts have been made to Germanize them. In 1888 a large sum was voted for the purpose of buying their land and letting it out to German colonists, and in 1898

a further sum was voted. Although something was done in this direction, the Poles were reinforced by immigration, and the harsh measures employed to prevent the use of the Polish language in the schools aroused much opposition in Germany itself. The Government, however, in spite of admitted failure, found more money for the policy, and in 1907 a bill providing for the compulsory expropriation of Polish landowners was passed. The actions of the Prussian government were, however, more than once censured in the *Reichstag*. In Schleswig-Holstein the Danes have from time to time caused some anxiety, but their most serious grievances were removed in 1907 as the result of a treaty with Denmark. In this province the Danish language has quite held its own. Alsace-Lorraine has in general peacefully accepted the German rule, in spite of occasional outbreaks. In 1902 the exceptional laws were repealed, and in 1910 a constitution was granted. In 1913 several German officers incurred the popular displeasure; there was a good deal of feeling aroused against them, and their regiment was withdrawn from the town of Zabern.

1913, however, was especially a year of rejoicing. Throughout the Empire numberless celebrations have testified to the interest of the Germans in the great events of 1813, the year of their liberation from Napoleon. From February to October they continued, and in June the twenty-fifth anniversary of William's accession to the throne gave rise to another series.

During the past forty years there has been no change in the constitution of the Empire, and its constituent states have been left to work out their own domestic salvation. In nearly all socialism has made rapid advances, and in the larger ones, at least, financial questions have been prominent. Bavaria retains to some extent her traditional hostility to Prussia, but this has un-

doubtedly been weakened by her participation in the Empire's great commercial prosperity. In 1913 a law was passed providing for the accession of the regent, Prince Ludwig, in place of King Otto, who had been insane since his reign opened in 1886. As Ludwig III. he was proclaimed king at Munich in November.

In Prussia, the chief matter of internal politics has been the demand for a reform of the franchise laws, which has coincided with the growth of socialism, and which led to rioting in many towns in 1909. The demand for universal suffrage had been refused by the government, but in 1910 a reform bill was introduced. This, although retaining some of the existing class privileges, passed into law after one or two alterations. Further disturbances showed that it was not popular, but gradually the agitation against it became less pronounced, and in 1913 the usual conservative majority was returned under it to the Prussian lower house.

In Saxony, owing perhaps to its industrial character, the socialists have made great headway. The electoral law of 1896, which introduced indirect election and a franchise based on the amount paid in taxes, led to the rejection of all the socialist candidates for the diet; but the strength of the movement among those who could not vote at this election, but who could vote for members of the *Reichstag*, was shown when, in 1903, out of twenty-three delegates sent from Saxony, twenty-two were socialists. The franchise laws were then altered somewhat, but plural voting was retained. However, in 1909 the Saxon diet of eighty members contained twenty-five socialists. In 1904 King George, who had reigned since the death of his brother Albert in 1902, died. His successor was his son, Frederick Augustus III. In Württemberg, ruled since 1891 by King William II., the constitution was altered in 1906, and an education difficulty was

settled in 1909. The king is a Protestant, but his heir is a Roman Catholic, and the prospect of his accession has already been considered in the light of the relations between the Church and the state.

General interest was aroused in 1913 by the announcement of an engagement between the Emperor's only daughter and Ernest Augustus, the son and heir of the duke of Cumberland. The marriage of the two, which took place in May, put an end to the feud between the Hohenzollerns and the Guelphs, which dates from the seizure of Hanover by Prussia after the war of 1866. In October the federal council decided to allow Prince Ernest to become duke of Brunswick, which had been governed since 1884 by a regent on behalf of Prussia and he accepted the invitation. The regent left the country, and in November the duke and duchess made their formal entry into the capital.

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THE END

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